

# DE BOW'S REVIEW.

ESTABLISHED JANUARY, 1846.

---

JANUARY, 1866.

---

## ART. I.—FUTURE OF THE UNITED STATES.

WITH the opening of a new series of the REVIEW it will be proper for the Editor to venture a few remarks indicative of the principles and policy which will govern in the future conduct of the work.

Whatever may have been the theories of the past, the results of the great conflict which have shaken the land to its center, establish beyond controversy the fact that the United States is a fixed and permanent Government, and is capable of resisting every internal effort for its disruption; and that from the experiences of the past there is likely to be no movement in the future, looking to disruption, emanating from any quarter.

A nation which has proved itself capable of passing through such a crisis—involving the movement of armies and navies scarcely inferior to those which followed in the wake of the great Napoleon, and the expenditure of moneys to which the powerful States of Europe have been a stranger, and of which they can scarcely realize the facts, maintaining through it all its currency and credit unimpaired—is not likely to go down in any future contingency.

This much must be admitted: and the powers of Europe may now recognize in the United States a colossal rival, vast in territory, in population, and in ambition; enured to arms and to industry; a nation of soldiers, sailors, and workmen, ready for the sword or the scythe, fearing nothing which the world can offer in competition or in conflict. The monarchies of Europe combined would present but a feeble barrier to the future advance of this now giant power!

It is well—North and South—there is but one feeling in America, and it is that her destinies are in her own keeping;

and that nothing of interest or of favor is to be desired or looked for from any of the monarchies of the old world. They have been tested in the hour of trial and have been found to be time-serving, bigoted, and in the last degree selfish. Incapable of great statemanship, they have taken their position and must abide the result.

A wise and liberal national policy will speedily restore to the United States all that it has lost by the war; and a magnanimous and forbearing spirit will bring into harmony again its recently jarring elements, and constitute one people out of its teeming millions.

Accepting the results of the war, our people everywhere have but to put their shoulder to the wheel, intellectually and physically, to redeem—such is the vastness of our resources and the flexibility of our institutions—what has been lost, and remove all traces of the recent calamitous times.

The purpose of the REVIEW is to aid in this great movement; and the editor, with twenty years' experience in the conduct of the work, launches it hopefully upon its career.

What is the present status of the United States in territory, in population and in commerce, compared with other powers? It is well to take a glance at the figures.

*In Territory.*—We have only to repeat what was said by us in the compendium of the census of 1850. The territorial extent of the Republic is nearly ten times as great as that of Great Britain and France combined; three times as great as the whole of France, Britain, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark together; one and a half times as great as the Russian Empire in Europe; one sixth less only than the area covered by the fifty-nine or sixty Empires, States, and Republics of Europe; of equal extent with the Roman Empire or that of Alexander, neither of which is said to have exceeded 3,000,000 square miles.

TABLE.

Area in square miles, United States . . . . .	2,936,166
"    "    Russia in Europe . . . . .	2,120,397
"    "    Austria . . . . .	257,368
"    "    France . . . . .	207,145
"    "    Great Britain . . . . .	121,912
"    "    Prussia . . . . .	107,921
"    "    Spain . . . . .	182,270

The shore line of the Republic, exclusively of bays, sounds, islands, &c., is in extent 12,609 statute miles; but if all of these indentures be followed, the navigator who makes the circuit (33,069 miles) will have performed a voyage equivalent to one around the earth, and a third of the distance besides.

*In Population.*—The population of the great powers stood as follows in 1850 :

United States . . . . .	23,191,876	Austria . . . . .	36,514,486
Great Britain and Ireland	27,475,271	Prussia . . . . .	16,331,187
France . . . . .	35,783,170	Russia (in Europe) . .	60,315,150
Spain . . . . .			14,216,219

In 1860, the population of the United States had swelled to 31,445,089, and upon the basis of its past increase, corrected for retarding causes, the Superintendent prepares and publishes this table :

1870 . . . . .	42,328,432	1890 . . . . .	77,266,989
1880 . . . . .	56,480,241	1900 . . . . .	100,355,802

*In Commerce.*—The following, which shows the exports and imports of the United States for the last ten years, including four years of war and interrupted communications, is a remarkable evidence of the self-sustaining power of the country :

	EXPORTS.	IMPORTS.
1854 . . . . .	278,241,064	304,562,381
1855 . . . . .	275,156,846	261,468,520
1856 . . . . .	326,964,908	314,639,942
1857 . . . . .	362,960,682	360,890,141
1858 . . . . .	324,644,421	282,613,150
1859 . . . . .	356,789,462	338,768,130
1860 . . . . .	400,122,296	362,162,541
1861 . . . . .	410,856,818	352,075,535
1862 . . . . .	229,938,975	205,819,838
1863 . . . . .	350,052,125	252,187,587
1864 . . . . .	340,665,580	328,514,559

The commerce of Great Britain for the past few years was as follows :

1862 . . . . .	Exports . . . . .	£123,992,264
1863 . . . . .	" . . . . .	146,602,342
1864 . . . . .	" . . . . .	160,436,302

With a country reunited, and with such population and resources, it needs but another decade to bring the United States upon an equality of commerce with Great Britain; and in a decade longer, where is likely to be the competitor?

Prudence, moderation, and wisdom are all that we need; and may not these cardinal virtues be counted upon, after all the dear-bought experiences of the past?

## ART. II.—THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH.

NECESSITY OF PROMOTING IMMIGRATION, AND ITS GREAT ADVANTAGES  
TO THE SOUTH.—ADVANTAGES OFFERED BY THE SOUTHERN STATES.

## LETTER FROM THE EDITOR, TO GOV. PERRY, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

SIR: I shall make no other apology for addressing you this communication than is to be found in the fact that you are understood, from recent publications, to have committed yourself publicly and actively in favor of opening the State of South Carolina, and with it the entire South, to the introduction of emigrants upon a liberal and enlarged scale; and the further fact that you are in a position from which a most important influence over the whole question may be exerted.

It has been evident to thoughtful men at the South, for a number of years, that her career in prosperity and wealth, in comparison with other sections, was greatly retarded by a deficiency of labor; and many among us went so far, even, as to theorize upon the re-opening of communications with the coast of Africa, and with Asia, for the purpose of securing laborers, either as coolies, apprentices, or under some other name. It occurred to scarcely any one that it was practicable, or even desirable, to open the doors to free white immigrants, a prejudice being understood to exist in the minds of such everywhere, against coming into competition with slave labor; and even if such prejudice did not exist, influences adverse to existing institutions, upon which the prosperity of the South was believed mainly to rest, was likely to be exerted by that competition.

It followed, that, whilst the Northern and Western States, from the constant stream of hardy and industrious immigrants who were pouring in, exhibited miracles of progress and development, the South, with vast natural resources for mining, manufactures, and agriculture, advanced in but the slow ratio of its natural increase; and immense dominions, capable of contributing untold treasures to the commerce of the world, remained hermetically sealed.

The census of the United States was conclusive upon this point, and I quote from the compendium of 1860, page 170:

	Improved per cent.	Value per acre.
New-England States.....	26	\$20 27
Middle States.....	35	28 08
Southern States.....	18	5 34
South-western States.....	10	6 26
North-western States.....	13	11 39



The slavery question having been settled, by the military power of the United States, and the South having accepted, in good faith, the solution (slavery being recognized as an issue of the war, in which she has lost), and so framed her legislation as to recognize the negro, in the future, as a freedman, under no other obligation to labor than those which bind every other freeman, of whatever color, it becomes a matter of very anxious inquiry, outside of the social and political questions involved, what effect may be expected upon the great questions of labor and production, already disturbed by previously existing causes.

Before going further, it is well to remark, what your own judgment and information will bear me out fully in, that the people of the South, universally, are willing to give a fair and honest trial to the experiment of negro emancipation, which has been forced upon them; and that if let alone, to manage affairs in their own way, and with their intimate knowledge of negro character, and that sympathy with him and his fortunes, which is but the natural result of long and close association, every thing possible will be done, in good time, for the social, physical, and political advancement of the race; clashing as little as practicable, at the same time, with the great material interests of the country. Those of us who are familiar with the South are well advised that the restoration of slavery within its limits, even were it desired, would now be an impossibility, for reasons induced by the war, and by the subsequent action of the authorities, both State and Federal.

Having adverted to the great deficiency of labor at the South, prior to the breaking out of hostilities, as indicated in the small percentage of lands actually under cultivation, and their low average value, I am sure that no advocate of negro emancipation, however ardent, will expect me to look for any prospect of immediate relief as likely to result from that act. Whether the negro will work at all, or with greater energy and productiveness, under the stimulus of freedom, are questions to be determined in the future; but whatever the eventual determination, there must, it is evident, be a period of transition, in which, even under the most favorable circumstances, decline, rather than improvement, may be everywhere expected to manifest itself at the South.

While it must be admitted that experiments in negro emancipation have resulted unfavorably in other countries similarly situated, I cannot but derive hope from the consideration, that there were causes at work in most of those countries, which do not exist in our own, which may modify and control the result. I refer to the inferior civilization of the blacks in the cases re-

ferred to, their small contact with the whites, the great disproportion between the colors, the nature of the climate, requiring little clothing, and producing food spontaneously, etc. Taking these facts into account, I am not despondent of the result, when time and judicious measures have been allowed to mature a system.

But what is to be done in the meanwhile is a point of grave interest, and one which will occupy a prominent place at the meeting of the State Legislatures during the present winter. Is there anything to be accomplished, and what, beyond the adoption of such local measures as relate to the status of the negro, and his character as a producing agent?

There is but one answer, and that may be condensed into a few words:

*The South must throw her immense uncultivated domain into the market at a low price; reduce the quantity of land held by individual proprietors, and resort to intelligent and vigorous measures, at the earliest moment, to induce an influx of population and capital from abroad.* This is entirely practicable.

That the landed properties of the South have been, in general, too large, and that great benefit would result to the proprietors, by disposing, at low rates of the surplus, can scarcely be considered open to argumentation. Several years since, I caused the returns of the United States Census, of which I was then in charge, to be examined upon the point, and the result for the number of farms, which were selected at random, was as follows:

	Farms.	Over 1,000 Acres.
Kentucky.....	943	33
Louisiana.....	1,558	467
South Carolina.....	9,400	2,718
Michigan.....	3,181	30
Ohio.....	1,055	19
Pennsylvania.....	1,044	17
Rhode Island....	2,250	16

The staples of the South are of such inestimable value to the commerce of the world, that they have, in the past, and promise beyond all contingency in the future, to come into triumphant competition with those of every other country upon the face of the earth. Sugar, cotton, rice, tobacco, hemp, and naval stores, are all articles of universal and almost unlimited demand, at prices which, considering the cost of production upon cheap land, will yield results to agricultural labor for which there is no parallel. But beyond these staple growths, the climates and soils of the vast region, which stretches from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, are favorable to every product upon which industry and capital are expended in any country. The vast

mineral resources which geological surveys have divulged, which no hand of industry has yet attempted to develop; and the infinite number of manufacturing sites, all present the most tempting baits to enterprise, and will open up results for it, which nothing in the history of the times has equaled, dazzling and magnificent as have been its past achievements.

In the single article, cotton, is found the most striking illustration of what has just been said. "King," he may not be, in the sense in which many of us formerly recognized him, but the sway which the potentate exercises over the finances of nations is by no means to be sneered at, and the hold which he has upon the necessities of the world seems to be fixed and irremovable. Four years of non-exportation, while they have given the most intense stimulus and energy to the growth of cotton in other countries, and increased the production in them several hundred per cent., have not left the South without the virtual control of the markets of the world. We may gather this from the fact that the million and a half of bales (an outside calculation), available for exportation during the summer and fall, from her ports, have a gold value greater than that of the four or five millions which were the product of the South in the days of her palmiest prosperity.

Admitting it to be true, as has always been maintained by Southern writers, that climatic conditions, existing in many sections, are unfavorable to European and Northern American constitutions, there can be no doubt of the fact that a large portion, and in most cases; by far the larger portion, of each of the Southern States is well adapted to white labor, and that actual mortuary returns indicate a much higher degree of physical health in these localities than in the New-England and North-western States. Upon this subject, Dr. J. C. Nott, of Mobile; Dr. Fenner, and the late Dr. Barton, of New-Orleans, shed much valuable light, in treatises prepared several years since, which may be consulted with great advantage now, and the statistics of the United States are believed to be equally in point.

The region referred to embraces nearly the whole of the great States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas, three fourths of Georgia and Arkansas, and one half of South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida.

Here there is a territory, vast in extent, and susceptible of development by *white labor*, from whatever quarter introduced, capable of maintaining a population as dense and wealthy as can be found in any other part of the Union; and yet, in 1850, its density to the square mile, as compared with other sections, was:

	Persons.		Persons.
Slaveholding States.....	11.85	Texas.....	.89
New-England States.....	41.94	Ohio.....	49.55
Middle States.....	57.79	Massachusetts.....	127.50

In what manner, then, shall we proceed to invite capital and population to the South? I answer: *Consult and abide by the experience of those States and communities which have grown populous and rich by the success which attended their efforts to secure immigration.*

And first, I would suggest the appointment of one or two commissioners from each of the States, who shall meet at some central point, say at Atlanta, Georgia, or at Montgomery, Alabama, and, in order that no time may be lost, I would suggest that the commissioners be nominated by the Provisional Governors.

The object of the commission would be to advertise the world that our people are in earnest in the matter and in accord, and it would tend to secure such harmony of action between the States as would be most conducive to success.

The commission should be a permanent body, and should at once open correspondence with every section and district of the several States, inviting information upon the character and value of soils, and the quantity available for settlement, and the lowest cash and credit prices of the same. This information ought to be given to the public in the form of circulars and addresses, translated into German and French, and distributed abroad through our Consular agents.

It is needless, however, to suggest what would be the duties of such a commission. The intelligent and experienced minds thus brought together would soon develop the wisest system, and upon their recommendation, aid and legislation, as might be necessary, would readily be afforded by the State Governments.

In a matter of such delicacy, it is evident that any conflict or rivalry between the States would be productive of lasting injury, especially in presence of the great inducements to emigrants which are held out in other quarters, and the organized and well-established systems which exist for their introduction and settlement.

Everything will depend upon the earlier results; and if mistakes are made, from the circulation of false information, and disappointments ensue, it will be difficult, almost impossible, to correct them. Knowledge of these disappointments, it will be the purpose of interested parties to circulate, so that in a little while it will reach every village and town or hamlet in Europe. Active and independent competition, for emigrants,



between the States will, it is to be feared, lead to these results. There are two points, New York and New Orleans, which will probably continue to be the most prominent ones, at which immigrants will be landed, and at these it will be indispensable to locate agencies to look after their interests, and to afford such information as will direct them, with as little inconvenience, loss of time and expense, as possible, to their several Southern destinations. This can be effected without much expense. In a single year, taken at random, which gave an aggregate immigration of 398,470 — it appeared that there arrived at

New York.....	304,876	Baltimore.....	14,148
New Orleans.....	32,316	Galveston.....	2,600
Philadelphia.....	17,956	Charleston.....	1,517

There is luckily a signal instance to which the attention of immigrants may be directed, showing the prosperity which can be enjoyed by them in certain parts of the South, and it would be well to ascertain and make public the facts in reference to this case at an early date. I refer to the German colonies in Texas, and would suggest a perusal of Mr. Olmstead's work upon that State, published a few years ago, for much interesting material.

Feeling convinced that the German States will be the chief source from which any large number of immigrants can be expected, I addressed a note recently to Charles L. Fleishman, Esq., a gentleman well known to the country for his agricultural and scientific labors in the service of the Patent Office, who has spent much of his life in Europe, and written several works upon the United States in his native German, which have exercised a wide influence upon the immigration question; and in reply have received a lengthy letter which will appear in the next number of my REVIEW, but from which I briefly extract at present. Mr. Fleishman says:

"You put to me the question, 'What is the best plan for drawing the attention of the German emigrants to the advantages which the South offers to settlers?' In answer, I say that the Southern States should, as soon as possible, publish a detailed and full account of their various resources; of the weather, and its influence on the constitutions of men coming from northern latitudes; of the lands, and their present condition as to fertility and titles; of the various products which can be raised; of the best location for vine culture and fruit in general; and an account of the existing railroads and canals, and also of the commerce, and the various branches of industry, to be carried on there, &c."

Mr. Fleishman says, further, that the Germans do not aim to become merely day laborers, but landowners; that, in general, they prefer to go where other Germans have gone before, and where their own language is spoken; that they



never cease to be Germans; and that they love the soil they cultivate, love freedom and independence, hate aristocracy, and are not only good farmers, but mechanics and artisans. They all have more or less money and personal property, with which they buy lands or undertake trade. He says:

"The South must establish similar institutions to those that we find in the North for the protection and assistance of emigrants; they must protect them from runners and rapacious boarding-house keepers. The South must establish hospitals and almshouses for the sick and needy; it must establish cheap and regular rates on railroads and canals to emigrants, and do everything to show that it is not only anxious to see the Germans come among them, but they must also satisfy their former governments that the South is in earnest to fulfill the obligations which a call for settlers imposes upon any government or society.

"The States engage in an enterprise entirely new to them. It will require wise measures not to begin wrong. Should they displease the first settlers, they may rest assured it will be long before they succeed again to get them away from the old Western track. I would recommend that every Southern State should appoint capable persons and send them North to study thoroughly the measures which New York, for instance, has adopted in the promotion of the welfare and security of emigrants, and establish similar laws and expedients.

"The South, with its enormous natural resources, its fertile lands for the production of valuable staples, its forests, minerals, and water-power, may rest assured that her new enterprise will be richly remunerated; she will soon see her property increase in value, and become the wealthiest portion of the Union."

The United States, alive to the importance of securing the largest number of immigrants, have established a Bureau of Immigration attached to the State Department at Washington, and also an Emigrant Office in the city of New York, under charge of a Superintendent. This legislation, in connection with the Homestead Law, which passed Congress on the 20th of May, 1862, and makes a donation of 160 acres to each settler, is having a very marked effect, and should advise the South of the difficulties which encompass her experiment, and of the course of action likely to remove them.

The Commissioner of Immigration at Washington has thrown into pamphlet form all the laws and instructions relating to the general subject, and caused the same to be distributed in Europe, in the English, French, and German languages. From a copy which he was good enough to furnish, I extract some questions which are propounded to the several State Governments.

1. What class of unskilled laborers are most required in your State and neighborhood at the present time, and the average wages paid for the same?
2. What kinds of mechanics or artisans are certain of employment, and the average wages of the same?
3. What means, either by legislative action or private enterprise, have been established to secure the advantages arising from the settlement of immigrants in your midst?

The purpose of obtaining this information is to furnish those about to emi

grate to the United States real practical information which may lead them to the localities where their labor will be most in demand, and where in many cases, it is absolutely needed.

How much of the progress and development of the United States has been due to immigration may be deduced from the fact that the total number of foreigners who landed on its shores to the year 1860, reached the enormous aggregate of 5,062,414—a number nearly equal to the entire white population of the South, if we exclude the Border States from the calculation. In this number were included:

Merchants.....	231,852	Engineers.....	2,016
Farmers.....	764,837	Teachers.....	2,528
Laborers.....	872,317	Manufacturers.....	3,120
Miners.....	37,523	Artists.....	2,490
Weavers.....	11,537	Servants.....	49,494

The countries from which these vast numbers were thrown upon our soil to become prosperous and flourishing citizens, and to exercise important influences over its destinies were:

Great Britain.....	2,750,874	Switzerland.....	37,733
Germany.....	1,613,586	Spain.....	16,248
France.....	208,063	Italy.....	11,202
British America.....	117,142		

The localities which they sought as represented in the report of the census of 1860, prepared by Mr. Kennedy, which is our authority for this and other statistical data, were:

Alabama.....	12,352	New York.....	998,640
Arkansas.....	3,741	Pennsylvania.....	430,505
North Carolina.....	3,399	Illinois.....	324,643
South Carolina.....	9,986	Ohio.....	323,254
Virginia.....	35,058	Wisconsin.....	276,927
Texas.....	43,442		

The figures, it will be remembered, refer only to the *original stock*, and do not take into account the descendants of foreigners born in the country. In 1860 the percentage of foreign born residents in some of the leading cities, was as follows:

Baltimore.....	24.71	Chicago.....	49.99
Charleston.....	15.53	Richmond.....	13.07
Cincinnati.....	45.71	St. Louis.....	59.76

If there ever was, then, a period in the history of a people, when it became necessary for them to be aroused as one man into action, and to put their shoulders to the wheel, and with energy and spirit and the determination to make a giant and master struggle, that period has come for the South. With a

country wasted by long and devastating war, with habits of labor broken up, with the machinery of industry destroyed, and a great social and industrial problem to be solved, under an extraneous pressure, which at times is most unreasoning and unreasonable, the condition of the South has scarcely a parallel in modern times. But dark as is the picture, there is a redeeming feature. All is not lost where the unconquerable will is left. The giant convulsion, which has just shaken the land to its centre, has not been without its beneficial effects. It has stirred up a new and higher spirit. The energies which were brought into play by arms, and the intellectual resources which were called forth and exhibited themselves in the thousand appliances and resorts to which a people, without machinery, without preparation, and without access to the outer world, were driven to support a conflict with the most powerful nation upon earth, each and all are the harbingers and augury of a future for the South from which she need not shrink. Resuming her place in the mighty empire of States, no son of hers will have reason to be ashamed of her place in the picture.

The successive waves of population which have been sweeping westward from the Atlantic, leaving as it were behind them a deposit of vast States and populous cities, the pride and hope of a great nation, have now reached the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, and here the tide, in the opinion of thoughtful men at the North, must turn; and there are substantial reasons for the opinion. Such a turn in the tide can only be in one direction, *and that is to the southward*; and in this respect it may almost be regarded providential, that at the very instant of the contingency the boundless domains of the South remove their dykes and barriers and invite the inundation.

The whole subject, sir, is one of so much interest to us all, that it would afford me great pleasure upon this occasion to elaborate it more at length, but I am admonished that the time and space are not at my control. At an early day I will resume the subject, and illustrate it with a variety of statistical data, which I have collected with some care.

With great regard, your obedient servant,

J. D. B. DE BOW.

No. 40 Broadway, New York, }  
Thursday, Oct. 12, 1865. }

NOTE.—Since the above was written, I have been put in possession of the latest report of the Superintendent of Immigration at New York.

By this it appears that the number of immigrants who reached New York in 1864 was 185,208 in 577 vessels, and from 18 different ports. Of these, 92,409

intended to reside in New York; 23,518 in Pennsylvania and New Jersey; 21,014 in New England; 34,662 in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota and California; 4,979 in Kansas, Nebraska, Canada, &c.; and 8,118 in the Southern States. In the years 1863-4, despite the war, the number of German immigrants was larger than in the preceding years.

## IMMIGRANTS AT NEW YORK.

	Total.	Germans.		Total.	Germans.
1861.....	67,258	27,248	1863.....	155,223	38,263
1862.....	76,700	24,172	1864.....	185,208	53,929

## ARRIVAL OF PASSENGERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

1851.....	408,828	1853.....	144,652
1852.....	397,343	1859.....	155,302
1853.....	400,982	1860.....	179,469
1854.....	460,474	1862.....	114,475
1855.....	230,476	1863.....	199,811
1856.....	224,496	1864.....	221,535
1857.....	271,558		

## ARRIVALS IN THE PORTS OF THE SEVERAL STATES.

	1862.	1863.	1864.
Maine.....	744	4,587	1,373
New Hampshire.....	9	2	16
Massachusetts.....	6,122	9,030	8,955
Rhode Island.....	34	46	54
New York.....	99,142	172,950	199,690
Pennsylvania.....	1,939	3,880	4,467
Maryland.....	2,389	1,176	2,968
Florida.....	126	140	199
California.....	3,970	7,403	3,185
Oregon.....		482	307

The above figures are taken from the Immigration Reports of the State Department at Washington, kindly furnished us by the Commissioner.

Remarking upon the above letter to Governor Perry, the "New York Evening Post" takes into account an element which was omitted by us when estimating the importance of immigration. The subject will be elaborated by us hereafter. In the meanwhile we quote from the article:

"There is, moreover, a source of repopulation for almost all the Southern States, which it is well worth while for Southern men to bear in mind. Any system which will effectually draw emigrants to them, will keep within their borders the great mass of native population of which the South has been drained for many years, which has sought in the free Northern States schools an equal chance in life. If we take South Carolina as an example, Mr. Tarver, a writer in De Bow's 'Industrial Resources,' tells us that 'thirty per cent. of the [white] population of that State, in the short space of ten years, broke all the social and individual ties which bind man to the place of his birth and sought their fortunes in other lands.'

"What is true of South Carolina applies equally to other Southern States which have for many years poured a large and constant stream of emigration into the free States. If we take the census report of 1850, which Mr. De Bow superintended, we find that the slave States had sent nearly six times as many of their population into free territory as the free States had sent into slave territory. We find that Kentucky had sent on to free soil sixty thousand more persons than all the free States had sent into slave soil. Little Maryland had sent more than half as many persons into free territory as all the free States



## 16 PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S POLICY OF RECONSTRUCTION.

had sent into slave territory. Virginia had sent sixty thousand more persons into free territory than all the free States had sent upon the slave soil. Kentucky and Tennessee were but little behind the other States we have mentioned. This shows the course of emigration. But it is even more clearly shown in some interesting tables contained in the last census report—that for 1860. In a table of 'Internal Migration' we find that there were in the country, and returned by the census-takers, 399,700 persons born in Virginia, but living in other States; 344,765 persons born in Tennessee but living in other States; 278,606 persons born in North Carolina but living in other States; 187,258 persons born in Maryland but living in other States; 32,493 persons born in Delaware but living in other States; 331,904 persons born in Kentucky but living in other States.

"Now it is true that not all these 1,518,726 persons who had migrated from only the border line of slave States were living in the free States, but by far the greater number were. The 'course of internal migration' is exhibited in a table of the Census Report. There we find that emigrants from Virginia have removed 'chiefly' to Ohio, Missouri, Kentucky, and Indiana; from Kentucky they have removed chiefly to Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio; from Maryland they have removed chiefly to Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the District of Columbia; from Delaware they have migrated chiefly to Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, and Indiana; from Tennessee they have removed chiefly to Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, and Illinois."

---

## ART. III.—PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S POLICY OF RECONSTRUCTION.

### THE PRESENT STATUS OF AFFAIRS AT THE SOUTH—DIFFICULTIES, DANGERS, AND REMEDIES.

THE great civil war, in which we have been engaged, having ended, with the surrender of the armies under Lee and Johnston, the momentous question immediately arose, in what manner the Confederate States should be treated? It was acknowledged, on all hands, that slavery was at an end. The fate of war had determined this, and it was so understood by the South as well as the North. But beyond this remained the question, What policy should be pursued towards the defeated section? Two policies were at once suggested: one, the policy of repression; the other, the policy of conciliation. It was urged by some, that the South should be dealt with with the utmost rigor; that there should be a general confiscation of the property of the South; that all, in any degree engaged in or sympathizing with the rebellion, should be disfranchised; that the leaders should be capitally punished, and that the free blacks, and the few Unionists, should be alone intrusted with political power. Fortunately, for our country, this great question was practically to be determined by the President of the United States. And it was the destiny of the country, then, to have, in that position, a statesman peculiarly fitted to deal with this great question. President Johnson—called suddenly, by a startling and tragic event, abhorrent to all our ideas, antago-



nistic to all our traditions; which revived, for a moment, in our midst, the horrible memories of the Guy Fawks, Borgias, and Orsinis of history—was preëminently suited to grapple with this momentous question. Born and educated at the South, he had an intimate acquaintance with the Southern people, understood their character, knew their leaders personally, comprehended their ideas, and the secret spring of action; was familiar with the character of the negro race, and understood thoroughly the relations between the two races. Besides, President Johnson was emphatically a Union man—his love for the Union amounting to a religion—believing it to be destined, in the providence of God, to perform a great work in the advancement of man all over the world. Further, President Johnson, by his political education and party associations, was indoctrinated in those political ideas which recognized, in a very liberal degree, the rights of the States; and did not, therefore, look with favor upon the Federal Government absorbing all the powers and privileges which, from the foundation of the republic, had been conceded to the States. While President Johnson had not recognized the extreme doctrines of State Rights as contended for by some—the right of nullification, and the right of secession—he had not denied a liberal share of rights and powers to the States. While he was not a disciple of the extreme school of Mr. Calhoun, he was a follower of the Jackson school—a school, which took medium ground between the tenets of Mr. Calhoun and those of Alexander Hamilton.

Another peculiarity in President Johnson's political character, was that he had an unbounded confidence in the people. He believed emphatically in the capability of the people for self-government. Another distinctive feature in the political character of President Johnson, was his sympathy with the masses of the people. Any one who will study his political career closely, will see that the corner-stone of his political philosophy has been an intense sympathy with and desire to advance and benefit the humbler classes. Whilst he has never shown any aversion to the negro race, yet his active efforts have been to raise up that portion of the white race who have lived in poverty and hardship. The secret of his success and elevation in his own State, was that he was a veritable tribune of the people. The people, the masses, the sons of toil, felt instinctively that in Andy Johnson they had a friend and advocate. This was the secret of his immense popularity in Tennessee. It was on the arms of the people, without the aid of the powerful, that he was borne, from his modest home, to the highest offices of the State. Besides, President Johnson

was preëminently a man of common sense, a practical man, a man not carried away by his imagination, no theorist, no fanatic. The dreadful struggle through which we had passed had not shaken the even tenor of his soul. He was the same man at the end of the war that he was at the beginning. He was not crazed, as the madmen of revolutions usually are, by the smell of blood. He was in full possession of himself, his judgment unswerved, his mind under his own control, and as anxious to restore harmony to his country as he was before the first gun was fired. Fortunately for his country, fortunate even for humanity, it was to such a man, at such a time, the great work of pacification—at the end of a civil war between thirty millions of people, the greatest, the saddest civil war the world had ever seen—was confided. In the affairs of nations, we see at times the evidences of a hand stretched from above to work out some great destiny. In the memorable struggle of the Dutch Republics with the mighty forces of Phillip II., William the Silent seemed to be the man raised up by Providence to save his country. In the madness of the English Revolution, was it an accident that the rough and forbidding exterior of an obscure fanatic concealed the splendid talents of Oliver Cromwell, who saved his country from the horrors of her own delirium, and elevated her to the first rank in Europe? In our own country, was not the hand of Providence in the elevation of Washington? In great epochs of national life, destiny seems to select the man for the occasion. Surely I may be permitted to say, that destiny, an overruling Providence, not blind chance, selected President Johnson for the great mission of being the restorer of his country. Oh! noblest pride and prerogative of greatness, to do good on a grand scale, to accomplish a nation's happiness, to mingle one's name with the felicity of one's country, and to live in the annals of one's country as her benefactor.

President Johnson prepared, as we have seen by his character and antecedents, entered upon the great work before him. We have no knowledge of the consultations which took place in his cabinet, but it is reasonable to suppose that the question of the policy of reconstruction was most carefully and anxiously considered. In due time history will, no doubt, enlighten us as to the opinions of the members of the cabinet on this subject. In the meantime, we are left only to conjecture. Of the action of at least one member of the cabinet, its most distinguished illustration, Mr. Seward, we would venture the opinion, from our conception of his elevated intellect, the philosophical turn of his mind, and his well-known humanity and moderation of sentiment, that he would earnestly lend his great influence to

the adoption of a mild and lenient course of reconstruction. Those who remember Mr. Seward's wise and humane utterances for conciliation at the beginning of the great struggle, are readily prepared to believe that his voice would not be silent in inaugurating a policy of reconstruction, calculated to soothe the angry passions of the war, and restore peace in reality as well as in name. We believe that in this great work of peace and goodwill to the defeated States, the record of Mr. Seward will present him as one richly meriting the gratitude of his country, and in an especial manner the grateful recollection of the people of the South; and we believe his name is destined to become as kindly cherished at the South as it is at the North.

All honor, then, to President Johnson and his Secretary of State, that they had the wisdom, and the firmness, and the humanity, to adopt a policy so advantageous to their whole country, so humane and generous to the defeated and the unfortunate.

Let us consider the probable results of the policy of restriction. Suppose that there had been universal confiscation at the South, a general execution of prominent men, and a deprivation of the elective franchise of all who had sympathised with the war, and the granting of the right of voting to the enfranchised slaves. The acerbity of feeling at the South, instead of being diminished, would have been largely increased; the material interests of the South would have been thoroughly prostrated; the two races at the South would have been delivered over to the most violent discord; the ignorance of the blacks at the South would have failed to furnish any basis for building up wise political institutions. Chaos, anarchy, and discord would have reigned supreme. The South would have been far worse than Ireland in the worst days of Ireland, when driven to madness by the oppression of the English Government, hate, rapine, and murder, did their hellish work. Nor would the Government of the United States have been able to realize any considerable treasure by such confiscation. The personal property that could not have been concealed, would have been destroyed in desperation by the unfortunate owners. The lands would have been the only resource of value. The lands thrown into market would have produced but nominal sums, as according to the Constitution, only the life estates of the owners could be sold, and purchasers would have proceeded with great reluctance, as assassination would have too frequently been the only fruit reaped from the purchase. The idea, therefore, of realizing any considerable sum from such confiscations, much less paying the national debt, was preposterous in the

extreme. As an evidence of the poverty of the South, produced by the war, take the case of the State of South Carolina. By the census of 1860, the property of the State was valued at \$400,000,000. Of this, it has been estimated that the injury to the banks, private securities, railroads, cities, houses, plantations, stock, etc., amounted to \$100,000,000. There were, by the same census, 400,000 slaves, valued at \$200,000,000. This leaves only \$100,000,000 for the value of all the property left in the State. The principal portion of this consisted of lands, which have fallen in value immensely. It is impossible to say what the future may bring forth, but the lands of the State may be considered, at present, absolutely unsaleable in large quantities. What is true of South Carolina, is true, in a greater or less degree, of all the Southern States. From this statement, it may be seen, how fallacious is the idea of deriving large sums from the confiscations of the South. But while this policy of repression would have produced no money for the Government, it would have necessitated the keeping on foot, in the Southern States, of a large military force, which would have been an immense annual expense. But the mischief would not have stopped here: while the South would have been no benefit to the North, the North would have put in peril the existence of their republican form of government, by keeping a large standing army, as a permanent institution, to overawe the South; while the South would have been utterly ruined, the republican institutions of the North would have been undermined. The vast burthen of the national debt would have fallen on the North exclusively. The unsettled condition of the South, the necessity of keeping on foot a large military force, together with the failure to receive any material aid from the South, would have occasioned distrust of the ability of the country to meet a vast public debt, in process of constant increase; confidence would have abandoned the Government, and national bankruptcy and ruin would have been the result.

President Johnson, called to solve the great question, as to how the South should be treated, at once boldly put in operation his policy of restoration with conciliation, and the happy effects are daily becoming visible. And so rapid and important are the advantages of his policy, that we look on in wonder and admiration, and ask ourselves if it can be possible, that where peace is so thoroughly established, a few months since the fires of civil war were fiercely raging.

In considering the question, of how the South should be treated, the inquiry should be, What are the objects to be aimed at? and that policy should be adopted which is most likely to attain these objects. Let us make this inquiry.



The first great purpose is to restore the Union, not technically, not as a dead body to be married to a living body, but in spirit and in truth, in heart and soul and mind. To accomplish this, hatred, and malice, and vengeance were not the proper means. The dragoon's sword, and the marshal's process of confiscation, and the negro thrust into precedence, were not the most proper pacificators. But, on the contrary, clemency and magnanimity. A people overcome in a great struggle, at the mercy of their conquerors, were in a condition to appreciate clemency; and if there was a spark of generosity in their character, it would show itself under kind treatment. By clemency, then, the foundations of the Union, at the South, were to be laid in granite. Masses of mankind are always influenced by generosity, especially where that generosity is attended by power. The policy of clemency has, therefore, done more, in a few months, to strengthen the Union cause at the South than centuries of oppression. It must be remembered, in this connection, that the people of the Southern States, by an overwhelming majority in every State, with possibly the exception of a single State, were, previous to the secession movement, attached to the Union. Secession was the result of apprehension of and indignation against a party, not against the Government of the United States. Thousands who yielded to secession, perhaps a majority, in most of the Southern States, hoped that secession would result in a satisfactory adjustment of the questions at issue. This class of the Southern people went into secession reluctantly, and the dreadful ordeal through which they were called to pass, satisfied them, long before the close of the war, that it was a great mistake; and they considered pacification with the North, which was but another name for reunion, as the only possible solution of their troubles. For some time before the close of the struggle, this party was gradually preparing the way for a pacific solution, under the lead of such men as Sharkey, in Mississippi; Parsons, in Alabama; Gov. Brown and Stevens, in Georgia; Baja, in South Carolina; Holden, in North Carolina; and Wickham, in Virginia. This party accepted the downfall of the Confederacy as an inevitable result, and looked with entire satisfaction to the restoration of the Union. This party, scattered over the entire South, accepts the Union, not with aversion, but with alacrity. The original secessionists have very many of them learned a great deal in the progress of the war, and are willing to accept the Union in good faith, as the only harbor of refuge from perpetual war and military despotism. In this way, the great majority of the people of the South are prepared to be loyal to the Union. With a popu-



lation thus inclined, the policy of conciliation is obliged to be successful.

Another important object is to develop the material resources of the South as early as possible, so that the South might be able to bear its share of the burthen of the national debt, and by its products for exchange, prove itself again a useful customer of the North. Thus, while the South was increasing its ability to pay taxes, the various forms of industry at the North would, in the prosperity of the South, receive the richest development. And never was this aid more important to the North than at the present time, when the great edifice of Northern prosperity is in a large degree resting on the unstable foundation of paper credit. The holders of Government securities, the merchants, the manufacturers, the shippers, the laborers of the North, are all interested in the earliest development of the material prosperity of the South.

Undoubtedly, nothing is so well calculated to accomplish this purpose as the policy of conciliation. The sooner affairs at the South are restored to their natural condition, and the people relieved from the apprehension of confiscation and such kindred measures of repression, and in possession of their ancient political rights, perceive the troubled sea of politics to be at rest, the sooner they will feel ready to go to work and improve their condition.

Undoubtedly, another important object is to so act as to place the freed people of the South in the best condition. This benevolent and proper purpose is, we think, best attained by creating as little antagonism as possible between the two races at the South. If we attempt to force upon the people of the South the question of negro equality at this time, we produce a state of irritation between the two races, most unfortunate for both, but especially for the blacks. We avow openly that we feel the deepest commiseration for the enfranchised slaves of the South; and we earnestly hope every thing practicable will be done to alleviate their condition and advance their interests. But we confess we are not sanguine as to their capability of advancement. The black race is proverbially indolent and improvident, and we cannot shut our eyes to the facts of history. All readers are familiar with the experiment of emancipation in Jamaica. Undoubtedly there it has been a signal failure, if we may believe the almost universally concurring accounts we have received. At the Southern States the question has been with us whether there is any thing peculiar in the circumstances of the Southern States to produce a different and more favorable result. The climate of the Southern States being less tropical than Jamaica may seem to

necessitate a greater degree of energy to support life; the black race at the South may have made greater advancement in intelligence than the same race in Jamaica; and there may be a superior spirit of enterprise in the white population of the South, to give direction to the industry of the blacks. Unless these conditions we have alluded to modify the experiment of emancipation in the South, we cannot well expect it to be more favorable than it has been in Jamaica. One advantage in Jamaica was, that the planters were paid for their slaves, by which means they were furnished with capital to organize labor under the new form; whereas at the South no compensation has been made to the owners of slaves, and they are almost destitute of any capital except lands, their country having been devastated by a most unprecedentedly destructive war. So far as we can form an opinion from the experience of the South so far, there is nothing to encourage hope that the labor of the freedmen can be made productive. Accounts from all parts of the South represent the freedmen as idle and indisposed to labor persistently. We are, therefore, not in any degree sanguine of this labor being made profitable. We have taken every opportunity in our power to ascertain the opinions of practical planters throughout the South, as to the availability of the freedmen's labor, and we know that almost universally the opinion exists that this labor cannot be relied on. While we are in favor most distinctly of giving the freed people every possible chance of advancement, and think that policy and humanity demand that every thing that is possible should be done for them, yet we cannot overcome our melancholy foreboding as to the capabilities of this class in a state of freedom.

It is a notorious fact, that almost universally throughout the South, the planters design to reduce the number of their working hands for the next year. What is to become of this vast surplus class of the freedmen of the South that in a short time no one will employ, is a question of the most serious import to us, looking at it from a humanitarian standpoint. It is useless to talk of compelling the planters to hire more laborers than they need. Hundreds of thousands will, therefore, on the first of January, 1866, be without homes or employment. It has occurred to us that the best thing to be done under the circumstances is for the Government of the United States to take the matter of their relief in hand vigorously, and systematically, and on the following plan. Let agencies be established at every Courthouse in the South to ascertain what freed people cannot obtain employment for the next year, and let the Government take all this class and place them on plantations

in the extreme South, and put them at work there, furnishing provisions, &c., for the first year. Unless some plan of this kind is adopted the most widespread suffering and destruction of this race will take place. We commend this matter to the friends of the blacks and the Government of the United States.

To return to our subject.

Another great purpose to be attained in the policy of reconstruction was in reference to preserving the public credit and providing for the national debt. To accomplish these great objects the first indispensable requisite was the restoration of peace, order, harmony, tranquility at the South. While antagonism existed between the North and the South, and the fires of civil strife seemed only smouldering, not extinguished, apprehension of new troubles would arise, and confidence would be wanting, without which credit languishes. Besides, the restoration of peace and order and civil government gave guarantees of the resumption of the industrial pursuits of the South, and her ability to contribute her proportion towards the payment of the national debt. While in the act of writing this article, we notice the improvement in Europe of our securities, resulting from the policy we have been advocating.

Satterthwaith's (of London) Circular 27th September, 1865, says:

"The amount of business done in American securities has lately been of a magnitude unprecedented since the outbreak of the rebellion. The conciliatory nature of President Johnson's speech to the delegates from the Southern States, appears to have inspired general confidence in the speedy and cordial reunion of the North and South, and all American securities currently dealt in, in London, have been in great demand."

All these great purposes have been furthered by the policy of conciliation pursued by President Johnson. It is gratifying to see good American common sense once more in the ascendancy with government at Washington. To President Johnson is due all the praise. In reëstablishing the Union he has set up his own statue. Long may he live to enjoy the highest honors of his country, in whose annals he will occupy a place second only to Washington, for as Washington was the father of his country, so President Johnson is the restorer. He has had great difficulties to contend with; he will be fiercely denounced and warred upon with implacable hate, for his great policy of "hazardous benevolence" to the South; but let him remain steadfast, the angry waves of the tempestuous sea of politics will break harmlessly at his feet; a nation grateful for his great services will bear him unharmed on their powerful

arms, in triumph a second time to the capital, not amid the clashing of fraternal swords, and under the sinister clouds of civil strife, but in the midst of profound peace, the constitution in full efficacy, civil law in the ascendancy, the Union restored and perpetuated; and the representatives of every section will attend his triumphal progress, and the plaudits of the people of every State will make the welkin ring with their voices of approval.

The President's policy of reconstruction has worked most admirably so far. The Southern States are amending their constitutions as fast as their conventions assemble, and abolishing slavery, and in every respect possible manifesting a proper and loyal spirit. In a few weeks their representatives will be at Washington to take their seats in the Congress of the United States. The admission of these representatives is the only step wanting to perfect the work of restoration. It is to be hoped, that the Congress of the United States will, with as little delay as possible, put this final seal to the President's policy, and the reunion of the States become an accomplished fact. We cannot conceive any useful purpose to be attained by refusing their admission. Some may propose in this way to coerce the Southern States into the concession of negro suffrage, but we are satisfied this result could not be thus accomplished. We are firmly persuaded the Southern States will not pay this price for the privilege of being represented in Congress. By the pending amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which appears certain to become a law, the power of legislating in behalf of the freed people of the South is granted to Congress. With this power in their hands it would seem unnecessary to raise the question of negro suffrage on the application for admission of the Southern representatives. We sincerely hope, therefore, that the Southern representatives will be promptly admitted and the whole machinery of our complex and wonderful Union put in operation.

---

#### ART. IV.—LANGUAGE:

##### ITS SOURCES, CHANGES AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE primitive sources of the several languages of the earth remain as effectually concealed as the still undiscovered fountains of the Nile. We may ascend the current of any tongue, noting the lands through which it flows, and which it has fertilized and vivified in its passage. We may ascertain the direction which it has pursued, and the remote regions from which it has issued. We may learn its



substantial identity at points where its waters are still shallow and attenuated, and turbid from the junction of confluent streams. But the sacred head of the mysterious stream still remains undetected.

No language is of sudden birth. Each is of secular origin. So far as History enables us to trace back or conjecture the series of human tongues, none is spontaneous or aboriginal. None is without ancestry or descent. None comes full formed into the world. A language is not produced by any mechanical deposition of successive increments of matter, for its own indwelling vitality continually exercises a plastic influence upon everything which it receives and embodies. Yet it does not grow like the fungus from a putrescent soil, nor like a tree from the seed. Its whole life and cause of development are not contained in the earth from which it springs, nor within itself. Its generation is from the earlier time. Its materials are derived from the analogous systems of speech which have preceded it, and which constitute its parentage. It receives nourishment and augmentation from multitudinous anterior and contemporaneous influences. The processes of decomposition, renovation and assimilation are always operating upon it. While it continues to flourish, it is ever enlarging by continual mutation of structure and accretion of substance. It never dies entirely except by the utter extermination, obliteration, or absorption of the race by which it was spoken. Even then, if it has been in any degree a cultivated speech, its works do live after it, either in the literature which it has bequeathed to posterity, or in the impress which it has left upon the tongues by which it has been supplanted and succeeded. But while the people to whom it belongs, exist, the language undergoes incessant transformations, sometimes rapid, sometimes so gradual as to be scarcely perceptible.

Every language is thus the bequest of previous generations of humanity. Each age in succession transmits to its progeny, not merely the vocabulary of expression, the modes of inflection, and the forms of syntax, but the habits of thought and feeling which are crystallized in its idioms, and the associations which cluster around the words of which it is composed. These nourish and mould the dawning and crescent mind, and are infused into the heart of the infant through the tender accents and affectionate solicitude of the mother's tongue. By this traditional procedure, repeated in the infancy of every individual, the spirit and genius of buried and forgotten nationalities survive, and may often be distinguished in the hereditary vernacular of their successors. Each language, accordingly imparts to a remote and dissimilar posterity the slow accumulations of a long and varied lineage, enriched, and to be enriched, by the contributions of every age through which it descends. Nowhere is there any solution of continuity. The current speech of any period or people incorporates the permanent treasures of the language, derived by a subtle process of perpetual filtration and rectification from all the previous generations in the line of its descent. If authentic history did not soon fail us, and if other devices did not ultimately refuse



any further aid, we might ascend the stream of time, and the current of change, and follow any living tongue through all the diversified phases of prior transmigration, till we reached the dispersion at Babel, the Garden of Eden, or the primitive type of human speech, whatever that may have been. Language possesses the transmutability of Proteus, with the vitality of the polypus. It may change its form—it may be mutilated or cut into fragments—but it still lives on with the same life, entire or divided, reclothes the same indwelling spirit, and reproduces all that has at any time been dis-severed from it, when it is again required. This perpetuity of existence prevents the assignment of any absolute date to the commencement of any language, and compels us to recur in the study of its history and of its constitution, not to any definite and single original, but to the constituent elements which have been harmoniously conjoined in its being, and assimilated with it at different times, in different degrees and by different modes.

The English language, like all others, and from its eminently composite character, more than most others, furnishes an example of these well established positions. It boasts a long descent; it has a various as well as a remote ancestry; it has passed through many periods and forms of change; it has incorporated into itself, and assimilated with itself, large acquisitions from earlier and from contemporaneous tongues; it is connected with a numerous circle of kindred languages; by its shaping energy, it has reduced its manifold and dissimilar elements into felicitous concord; and it still retains in its lineaments the evidence of the sources, the modes, and often of the periods and occasions, in and through which its treasures have been acquired. If, therefore, we desire to understand the peculiar genius of the English tongue, to appreciate its capacities, to comprehend its idiom, to master its structure, to discover the significance and pertinancy of its words, to know the reason, and to feel the propriety of its peculiarities, we must follow its history through the various changes which it has undergone, to detect the circumstances which produced and regulated those changes, ascertain the successive races which have contributed to raise the fabric of our speech, and determine the nature, the amount, and the influence of their respective contributions.

But the same task has to be performed for the appreciation of any other tongue. In some languages, from their simpler and more homogeneous character, the inquiry is more readily achieved. In others, it is abridged or arrested by the total want of materials for a long continued or recondite investigation. In all, however, the same demand is made—and the degree of our knowledge of the constitution and power of any tongue depends upon the fulness and accuracy with which the demand can be satisfied. The study of language in general, or of any language in particular, thus requires a comprehensive insight into the whole circle of connected languages, and a continual retrogression through all the antecedent forms and filiations of the speech, till we arrive at the vail of darkness which precludes

our ascertaining its primitive original—or discerning its “marvellous source.”

Language is, indeed, a miraculous creation; and its first manifestation is full of insoluble marvels. It is the very body and substance of our thought, clothing with sensible forms the conceptions of our own, and all other minds. It has been felicitously termed “the dress of thought;” but this appellation has been more felicitously impugned by Wordsworth, who would designate it “the incarnation of thought.”

It has been well observed by an acute writer in the “Edinburgh Review,” that—

“To a man who reflects upon the common operations of human life, which are some of the most wonderful phenomena of our existence, nothing is more astonishing than the origin, the structure, the history and the effect of words. Those lifeless signs which carry to the ear or to the eye the infinite varieties of thought, seem to have acquired a vitality of their own. A mechanism so complete that it adapts itself to every conceivable motion of the mind, and conveys the same impression to the minds of others—a mechanism so various that every nation, and almost every province of the globe employs it in a different manner, seems nevertheless to acknowledge no author, and to have grown up like the productions of nature. The powers of the human intellect have indeed given birth to the signs and forms of expression they require to convey and perpetuate their meanings. The subtle inflections of grammar, which frame the organization of words, the combinations of syntax which array them in language, the indescribable nicety of use which discriminates every shade of intention, all pass in the habitual and almost unconscious exercise of the faculty of speech, though they embrace a science of great depth and completeness.”

The mother tongue constitutes the intellectual and moral atmosphere into which each man is born, and by which his intellectual and spiritual life is sustained. It is the breath of his immaterial being. Through it he receives, in increasing proportion, as “the inward service of the mind grows great withal,” the instruction of his parents, his teachers, his precursors, his contemporaries and his times. By it he gives utterance to his own thoughts, and renders them communicable to others. They obtain currency only by assuming the current types: they need the impress of the popular mintage to obtain circulation, and a recognized value. Each “articulately-speaking” being first imbibes the life-giving air, which he afterwards exhales charged with the freight of his own conceptions or sentiments. He first receives from without what he afterwards expends modified from within. His intellectual respiration is determined by the inspiration of the popular speech. His language is not an arbitrary instrument subject to his caprice, nor a curious production of his own fancy; but it is the ever-present and animating influence in which, and by which, he thinks and imparts his thoughts. This is the relation in which each and every man is placed with respect to his native speech. Accordingly, it affects all persons, periods, places, and tongues. In every conceivable instance, man receives the body of his language from others who have gone before him, and he can only determine or modify it in a very slight degree for himself.

Language, therefore, is not merely more permanent and more potent than any individual, but it is also, in all essential respects, beyond the consciously exerted dominion of any and of all individuals. Single words or phrases, originating in the fancy, or in the necessitous invention of one man, may be accepted by the deliberate agreement or voluntary acquiescence of the people to whom the language appertains; but under no circumstance can the speech be methodically created, or materially altered by the exertions of one or of many. A change of race, or of the supremacy of a tribe, or the decree of a despot, may modify for a time any existing tongue, or may aid in substituting one tongue for another; but none of these things can create a new language.

The changes, then, which any language undergoes, and which are proceeding continually in every living language are spontaneous. They are not due in any considerable degree to intentional alteration. They are occasioned by changes of race—changes in the condition and wants of races—the amalgamation of races by foreign conquest, or peaceful infiltration—and to the persistent action of the organic process of decay and reproduction in all communities. In many cases even, when particular alterations can be traced to the deliberate efforts of individuals, those efforts are themselves only the manifestation and accomplishment of a prevailing tendency—the result of an undefined popular inclination in the direction of such alteration. The flood of Gallicisms, supposed to have been introduced into the English language by Chaucer, only represents the admixture of Norman and French elements in Britain, and of the imitation of French and Provençal models to the nascent literature of the country. It is probable, too, that most of these Gallicisms were imported, not by Chaucer, but in a still larger degree by his predecessors and his contemporaries.

Thus, from whatever point of view the question is regarded, the study of language in general, or of any particular language, compels us to recede in our investigations from any peculiar phase or era of speech to an antecedent form, and again to recoil to a still earlier type, till we arrive at the primordial forms or phantoms of utterance, or become perplexed and bewildered “in the wandering mazes lost.”

This amazing instrument of human intercourse—this bond of society, “*vinculum societatis*,” as it is termed by Cicero—is so familiar by daily and vulgar or vernacular usage, as never to engage the attention of the majority of those by whom it is employed. It is so full of wonders, when carefully examined, as to afford endless scope for curious and profound investigation. It is full of surprises; but it is also full of instruction. It is lisped by the lips of infancy; but it enfolds mysteries impenetrable by the profoundest philosopher. The blind palpations and blundering conjectures of the Cratylus of Plato prove how wide may be the aberrations of the most brilliant genius in the attempt to traverse the misty ocean which surrounds these enchanted islands. Despite these clouds, however, and the envel-

oping darkness, there are revelations latent in the substance and structure of every tongue, which may be discovered and interpreted by patient research, and reward inquiry by the strange and fruitful instruction which they convey. For, after furnishing to every successive generation the means of communicating its thoughts and feelings in public and in private life, and of perpetuating the experience of each passing age, when the external means of perpetuation have been acquired, it preserves, and embalms in its own fabric the record of the changes which it has undergone, the memorials of the condition and fortunes of those whose behests it has served, and the indications of the near and remote originals from which it has descended.\*

But, though the separate languages furnish us themselves with the means of tracing much of their past history, they afford little or no aid for the determination of their absolute beginning. Was Hebrew the original tongue of our first parents in Paradise, as used to be a favorite delusion, even among scholars? Was it High Dutch, according to certain German sages of the former day! or Walloon, according to Geropius Becarius and Adrian Schrieck? or was it Chinese, according to John Webbe's hypothesis in 1689?† Was it Sanskrit as was held by the early Oriental scholars? or a recent ancestor of the Sanskrit, according to Hugo and Ludolf, and many contemporary philologists?‡ Who will give the descent and "harmony of languages?" We must still answer with Von der Hardt, "While the world lasts it will not be given."§ The origin of languages is, and must remain, a mystery.

Was it a relic of antediluvian times, transmitted by the family in the Ark, with the other representatives and traditions of the World before the Flood? If this conclusion is accepted, it does not aid us in the solution of the problem. It only rolls back the inquiry beyond the waters of the Deluge, but leaves the inquiry itself wholly unanswered.

Was it the gradual and spontaneous invention of the early inhabitants of the earth?—an instrument devised under the inspiration of necessity, taught by the desire of mutual communication, expanded and improved with the growing wants and enlarged capacities of society? There is much to render such a hypothesis plausible, but there is much also to render it impossible. It has been a favorite tenet of philosophers of the Materialistic school, and was held by the precursors and contemporaries of the French Revolution, and even by many recent theorists. But it supposes much that is inconceivable, and leaves much that is unexplained.

Was it the gift of God to our first parents?—a revelation in it—

\* "Language bears in itself the indestructible record of its own history and origin, and is, in most cases, much more important for universal history by itself than all which is written in it afterwards, just as original compositions, like the *Iliad*, Herodotus and Plato are superior to their commentaries." Bunsen (*Christianity and Mankind*, vol. iv.) Phil. Hist. vol. II., pp. 10-11. *cf.* French Study of Words, Lect. I. pp. 83-4.

† Morhofii Polyhistor. Pa. I. lib. iv. cap. III. §§ 1-4. ‡ Ludolf Ep. ad Leibnitz: Leibn. Opera. tom. iv. Pa. I. p. 102. Ed. Dutens. [Harmoniam linguarum quis dabit? Dum orbis erit, non habitar. Ep. ad Leibnitz. Leib. Op. vi. II. p. 223.]



self?—an extrinsic manifestation or an internal development, passively received, or instinctively generated by Adam and his original progeny, in consequence of the possession of supernatural sensibilities and faculties, soon withdrawn from his posterity? To this opinion, the most reflective and reverent minds incline in our day, returning to the easy belief and unquestioning faith of ages less curious and sceptical than our own. But this solution amounts to little more than an indirect confession of ignorance, and is open to the further objection of explaining *ignotium per ignotiis*.

Was it a natural endowment of the progenitors of humanity, according to the declaration of the poet:

"Nobile fandi  
Jus natura dedit."

Was it connate with the race of man, as the aptitude for the slow and gradual acquisition of language is congenital with every infant born into the world?† This solution is scarcely more satisfactory than the others, because it does not remove the mystery of the origin of language, and leaves much, that is necessary to a solution of the inquiry, unsolved.

There are great difficulties attending the adoption of any of these theories—and the difficulties are not diminished by fusing them all together, because some of them are incompatible with others. The discrepancies and the agreements, the mutability and the rigidity, the mortality and the durability of the different tongues of men, present considerations not easily reconcilable with any of these systems, not wholly explained by all, even if all could be simultaneously received, as partial and concurrent explanations.

Here is the great dilemma which occasions inextricable perplexity.

Can language precede clear and definite thought?

Can clear and definite thought exist anterior to language?

This insoluble enigma is admirably stated by Jean Jaques Rousseau:

"L'esprit ne marche qu' a' l'aide du discours . . . et la parole me paraît avoir été fort nécessaire pour inventer la parole."

And still more precisely and epigrammatically by De Bonald, in his *Législation Primitive*:

"Il est nécessaire que l'homme pense sa parole avant de parler sa pensée."‡

So Donoso Cortés very forcibly observes: "Language is not a thing separate and distinct from thought; it is the thought itself,

\* Statius Sylv. II, iv., 16.

† These questions are concisely put by Hermann Von Der Hardt in a letter to Leibnitz (Leibnitz, Op. tom. vi., Pa. ii., p. 225, Ed. Dutens). "An concreata certa loquendi ratio et distincta sermonatis primo illi homini Adamo! Et si concreata, an tanquam appendix sic dictæ imaginis divinæ, et perfectionis in anima exognitione perfecta verum omnium, quæ describi solet, an peculiare illius viri donum? Et rursus, an tanquam effectus imaginis divinæ, an tanquam peculiare donum et Evæ?" etc.

‡ Vide Nettelement. Hist. Litt. Frang. sous la Restauration. No. I. vol. i. pp. 54-5.

considered in its essential and invariable form. As a being, regarded in its individual and concrete existence, can never separate itself from the form which circumstance circumscribed it, so, for the same reason, the thought of man cannot be conceived as existing in an individual and concrete manner, if it is not limited and circumscribed by expression. Man occupied in creating language is an absurdity similar to that of man occupied in creating society; the former is matter seeking its form, the latter an existence seeking its whereabouts. On whatever side we view it, rationalism falls into a vicious circle—the creation of man by man.”\*

Donoso Cortés is right in limiting this question of the origin of language with that of the origin of society. They are mutually connected, and give rise to similar riddles. We cannot conceive of the existence of society without language; we can hardly conceive of the existence of language without some incipient form of society. But, waiving this point, we have come to regard society in these latter days of more philosophical investigation, as a natural and primitive product; and this necessitates the admission of language also as a contemporaneous and equally natural production.

A somewhat analogous difficulty presents itself in regard to the origination of all the arts and sciences, which minister immediately to the institution and maintenance of society. Are these also revealed, inspired, or infused? But this difficulty does not solve the dilemma. It only directs us to the recognition of superintending or guiding powers above or beyond those which are included within the ascertained capacities of man. We cannot suppose that each of the elementary arts of life—the rearing of cattle, the tending of sheep, the tillage of the ground, the building of shelters, the application of fire, the use of metals, the preparation of food, the treatment of the sick—was the object of a special revelation. The gradual advancement in all of these procedures, the rude state from which they have been developed, and in which they remain among many savage tribes, preclude such an assumption. But, if we cannot accept the doctrine of divine manifestation in these cases, have we any right to infer its operation in the corresponding instances of society and language? It is true that in all these various phenomena of human existence, we recognize change, growth, and expansion as the result of conscious or unconscious human action; and that the question is in regard to the prime origination of language—to its earliest form or impulse, and not to its subsequent imitations. Here, the consideration of the process of development is unavailing; it reflects very little light on the causes or modes of the primitive commencement. The fundamental dilemma thus returns upon us. We must cut the Gordian Knot; we are utterly unable to untie it. We may exclude or ignore the question; but, if we contemplate it all, we must recognise a *nodus vindice dignus* and must accept, provi-

\* Esquisses Hist. Phil. § vii. Œuvres. tom. ii., pp. 492-3 of French Study of Words, Lect. I., pp. 22-6.

sionally at least, the intervention of some agency unknown to historical times. It is a very grave, conscientious, and painstaking historian who says:

"He who breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life, first opened the lips of man. . . . All essences, all modes of primordial production are completely beyond the compass of human understanding, and utterly unattainable by the results of human science."\*

The origin of language is thus involved in clouds of mystery, which baffle all attempts to penetrate behind the veil. We cannot ascend to the commencement of the series of languages, but we can investigate the simpler and ruder types of speech, and can approximate very closely to the primitive origination of each of these which possess any historical interest or literary importance.

The investigations of Comparative Philosophy have rendered plausible the theory of the connection of all languages, and of their derivation from a single stock. These inquiries have rendered certain the descent of all the principal tongues of Europe, ancient and modern, and of many of those of Asia, from one parent source.

For the acceptance of these conclusions, we may be asked to admit into Historical and Literary Chronology the long secular periods of Geological science, or the equally extensive æons of Indian, Egyptian, Babylonian, and Persian Mythology. We may perhaps be driven, by the exaction of such speculations, to mitigate our ridicule of the thesis of the Chevalier Bunsen:

"A concurrence of facts and traditions demand for the Noachian period about ten millennia before our era, and for the beginning of our race another ten thousand years, or very little more; and must place the culminating point of its (the Egyptian language's) grammatical structure before that great, although local, catastrophe, which we call the Deluge."†

If "there's luck in odd numbers," there is a fascination in large numbers, especially when applied to conjectural Chronology. But the difficulty at present is not in swallowing the mountain, but in swallowing the contents of the mountain. Like Gargantua, we can gulp down the cabbage, but the pilgrim concealed in the cabbage leaf sticks in our throat. No amplification of the years of the world—no relegation of the transaction to the gloom of an unfathomable antiquity removes or diminishes the difficulty of conceiving the original formation of language. This remains the same whether it be supposed to have happened four thousand years ago, or twenty thousand, or a hundred thousand, or a million. The object is not changed, because the age is removed from it. The vision is not strengthened by deepening the gloom and lengthening the night of

\* Sir Francis Palgrave, *Hist. of Normandy and of England*. *Introd.* ch. ii., vol. I., pp. 36-37 of *Cantab. Hist. Universale*. *ln.* ii., ch. xxi., vol. I., pp. 423-5. Donoso Cortés *Esquisses. Hist. Phil.* § vii., vol. II., pp. 496-9 (of vol. III., p. 455). Marsh *Lect. on Eng. Lang.*, *Lect.* ii., p. 38.

† Christianity and Mankind, vol. IV. *Phil. Hist.*, vol. II., p. 12.

time. Neither is the difficulty alleviated by imagining many protoplasts of humanity and of language, as has been done, in place of the one original father of the race, presented in Adam. A miracle is not rendered easier of comprehension, by alleging its frequent repetition, than by its solitary occurrence.

There are, however, valuable indications furnished by the supposition of several protoplasts or originals for the diverse families of language. This hypothesis virtually admits the impossibility of discovering or interpreting the first manifestations of speech, and evades the question by commencing at a later stage, and imagining special centres of distribution, or primary germs of solution. It accepts the doctrine of spontaneous or equivocal generation for the origin of languages, because unable to discuss the process or mode of the first production of language, and unwilling to receive what it cannot present some semblance of explaining. But the very necessity, to which these theorists feel themselves subject, of referring to a definite or small number of original types or germs—all the languages of the earth—is an explicit negation of that doctrine of spontaneous production from which the theory takes its departure. If languages may be spontaneously evolved, why are not all so evolved when the people are disconnected by time, place, circumstances, condition, or grade of civilization? If language can, and has sprung up "without father, without mother, without descent," among rude and barbarous tribes in an early age of the world—how does it happen that it has failed to appear when all the conditions of the time were more favorable? Does not this inconsistency demonstrate that however distinct may apparently be the primitive types to which existing languages, living or dead, are reducible—that they are only broken and mutilated fragments, or distorted and transmuted specimens of a previous speech? And is not this inference justified by analogy, when we contemplate the wide dissimilarity of the tongues, which have been proved to be descendants of a single primitive stock?

Of course, the closer we can approximate to the reduction of known languages to a single type, the stronger becomes the evidence of the impossibility of originating language, by deliberation, intuition, or accident. If all languages should be found to descend from one progenitor, this can only result from the inability of language to arise otherwise than by regular and unbroken tradition. If language can be preserved and perpetuated only by inheritance, there must have been an original and primitive type, which could not have so descended, as it was before all others; and this must have arisen in some mode entirely diverse from that which has prevailed in the generation of its near and remote descendants. Even, while we fail to prove the complete identity of all the languages of men, and to demonstrate that at some time the whole earth was of one blood and of one speech, the exhibition of the consanguinity of many tongues, spoken among many nations, under dissimilar circumstances, in diverse localities, and enjoying different degrees of civilization, points



towards the same conclusion—that, as they have arisen by transmission, modification, and development, so the first speech of the world, being incapable of this habitual origin, must have arisen in some mode entirely foreign to the usual genesis of languages. Every line of investigation thus brings us round to the acceptance of the same doctrine: that the origin of language is mysterious, inexplicable, and ultra-natural, if not acknowledged to be supernatural.

#### ART. V.—CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE SOUTH TO THE NATIONAL WEALTH IN THE PAST.

Now that the Southern States have again taken their place as integral parts of the Federal Union, it is important to ascertain what were their past contributions to the national wealth. This we have put upon record frequently and fully, but the figures will be interesting and valuable again. What the future may have in store is not given to the wisest of us to see; but so glittering is the prize which is held out to enterprise by the fields and forests of the South, that even in the darkness which envelopes her at present, we would fain perceive the traces of light. Everything will now depend upon the wisdom of the state and national legislation in determining whether prosperity and wealth, or decay and ruin, shall be the fate of this once prosperous region.

For the following figures we are indebted to Mr. Kettell's valuable work, entitled "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits":

##### UNITED STATES EXPORTS.

Year.	Cotton.	Flour and			Rice.	Manufactures.	Total.
		Tobacco.	Provisions.				
1790 ....	42,285	4,349,567	5,991,171	1,753,796	.....		19,666,101
1803 . . . .	7,920,000	6,209,000	15,050,000	2,455,000	2,000,000		42,205,961
1807 . . . .	14,232,000	5,476,000	15,706,000	2,307,000	2,309,000		48,699,592
1816 . . . .	24,106,000	12,809,000	20,587,376	2,378,880	2,331,000		64,781,896
1821 . . . .	20,157,484	5,648,962	12,341,360	1,494,387	2,752,631		43,671,894
1831 . . . .	31,724,682	4,892,388	12,424,701	2,016,267	5,086,890		59,218,583
1836 . . . .	71,284,925	10,058,640	9,588,359	2,548,750	6,107,528		106,916,680
1842 . . . .	47,593,464	9,540,755	16,902,876	1,907,387	7,102,101		91,799,242
1847 . . . .	53,415,848	7,242,086	68,701,921	3,605,896	10,351,364		150,574,844
1851 . . . .	112,315,317	9,219,251	21,948,651	2,170,997	20,136,967		178,620,138
1859 . . . .	161,434,923	21,074,038	37,987,395	2,207,148	32,471,927		278,392,080

Taking the aggregate of the exports for the years 1857 and 1859, we have the following table:

## UNITED STATES EXPORTS FOR 1857 AND 1859.

Of Southern Origin :	1857.	1859.
Cotton.....	\$131,575,859.....	\$161,434,923
Tobacco.....	21,707,799.....	21,074,038
Rice.....	2,290,400.....	2,207,148
Naval Stores.....	2,494,530.....	3,695,474
Sugar.....	190,012.....	196,735
Molasses.....	108,003.....	75,699
Hemp.....	33,687.....	9,227
Total.....	\$157,402,290.....	\$188,693,496
Other from South.....	24,398,967.....	8,108,632
Cotton Manufactures.....	3,669,106.....	4,989,733
Total from South.....	\$185,470,363.....	\$198,389,351
From the North.....	93,416,350.....	78,217,202
Total merchandise.....	\$278,886,613.....	\$278,392,080
Specie.....	60,078,352.....	57,502,305

To the Southern credit, however, must be given :

60 per cent. of the cotton manufactures, being for raw materials...	\$3,669,106
Breadstuffs (the North having received from the South a value as large in these as the whole foreign export).....	40,047,000
	\$43,716,106
Add .....	198,389,351
Southern contribution .....	\$242,105,457
Northern " .....	34,501,096

## ART. VI.—THE NATIONAL DEBT AND HOW IT CAN BE PAID.

As this is a subject of vast interest to the American people, whose discussion must employ the attention of Congress, the State Legislatures and the press for a long time to come, we introduce it to our pages by inserting the following statistics, which emanate from the Treasury Department, and add to them the exposition made some months since by Dr. Wm. Elder of that Department. Though the exposition has been widely distributed, it has not yet reached many parts of the country where our circulation will take it, and it is entitled to be read and preserved everywhere.

Having thus, as it were, introduced the subject, its discussion will be continued through ensuing numbers of the REVIEW by the Editor and his contributors.

The following is a late statement of the National Debt in detail.

## THE NATIONAL DEBT.

THE TREASURY.—PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.  
DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN LAWFUL MONEY.

Authorizing Act.	Character of Issue.	Rate of Interest.	Amount Outstanding.	When Redeemable or Payable.	Interest.	When Payable.
July 1, 1862, & July 2, 1864.	Bonds, Cent. Pacific R.R. Co.	6 per cent.				
July 11, 1862.	Temporary Loan.	4 per cent.		Payable after Jan. 16, 1893.	\$73,439 00	Jan. 16 & July 16.
July 11, 1862.	Temporary Loan.	5 per cent.		88,127 83 10 days' notices after 30 days	25,723 21	
July 11, 1862.	Temporary Loan.	5 per cent.		36,212 83 10 days' notices after 30 days	1,641,711 60	
March 3, 1863.	Certificates of Indebtedness.	6 per cent.		70,017,000 81 10 days' notices after 30 days	1,721,071 60	
March 3, 1863.	One and Two Years Notes.	5 per cent.	\$311,000,000 00	62,500,000 00 1 year from date.	3,750,940 00	1 year from date.
Less: Those from the Treasury destroyed, or ready to be destroyed.						
March 3, 1863.	3 Years' Comp'd Int. Notes.	6 per cent.	113,046,710 00	32,054,220 00	1,674,711 50	At maturity.
June 30, 1864.	3 Years' Comp'd Int. Notes.	6 per cent.	15,000,000 00	517,012,141 00 3 years from date.		
March 3, 1865.	3 Years' Treasury Notes.	7-8-10 per cent.	202,012,141 00	800,000,000 00 3 years from date.	51,900,000 00	Aug. 15 & Feb. 15.
March 3, 1865.	3 Years' Treasury Notes.	7-8-10 per cent.	234,400,000 00	800,000,000 00 3 years from date.	51,900,000 00	June 15 & Dec. 15.
March 3, 1865.	3 Years' Treasury Notes.	7-8-10 per cent.	63,600,000 00	290,000,000 00 3 years from date.	16,720,000 00	July 15 & Jan. 15.
Aggregate of Debt bearing Lawful Money Interest.			\$1,390,009,120 44	Interest.	\$72,627,645 75	
DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN COIN.						
Authorizing Act.	Character of Issue.	Rate of Interest.	Amount Outstanding.	When Redeemable or Payable.	Interest.	When Payable.
Jan. 28, 1847.	Bonds.	6 per cent.	\$2,415,250 00	Payable after Dec. 31, 1867.	\$764,015 50	January and July.
March 31, 1848.	Bonds.	6 per cent.	8,305,341 80	Payable after 20 years from Jan. 1, 1848.	534,000 00	January and July.
June 14, 1850.	Bonds.	6 per cent.	20,000,000 00	Payable after 15 years from Jan. 1, 1850.	1,000,000 00	January and July.
June 22, 1850.	Bonds.	6 per cent.	7,022,000 00	Payable after 10 years from Jan. 1, 1851.	351,100 00	January and July.
Feb. 8, 1861.	Bonds.	6 per cent.	18,415,000 00	Payable after Dec. 31, 1880.	1,104,000 00	January and July.
July 17 and Aug. 5, 1861.	Bonds.	6 per cent.	50,000,000 00	Payable at pleasure of Government after 30 years from June 30, 1861.	3,000,000 00	January and July.
Feb. 28, 1862.	Bonds exchanged for 7-8-10.	6 per cent.	130,831,000 00	Payable at pleasure of Government after 30 years from June 30, 1861.	8,350,000 00	January and July.
June 30, 1864.	Bonds, 5-20s.	6 per cent.	514,750,500 00	Redeemable after 5 and payable 20 years from May 1, 1862.	30,884,580 00	May and November.
March 8, 1864.	Bonds, 10-40s.	5 per cent.	130,000,000 00	Redeemable after 5 and payable 20 years from Nov. 1, 1864.	6,000,000 00	May and November.
March 2, 1864.	Bonds, Oregon War.	5 per cent.	172,770,100 00	Redeemable after 10 and payable 40 years from March 1, 1864.	8,693,505 00	March and September.
March 3, 1865.	Bonds.	6 per cent.	1,016,000 00	Redeemable 20 years from July 1, 1861.	50,900 00	January and July.
Aggregate of Debt bearing Coin Interest.			\$1,116,653,191 90	Payable after June 30, 1861.	4,500,000 00	January and July.
					\$65,001,570 50	

## THE NATIONAL DEBT.

## DEBT ON WHICH INTEREST HAS CEASED.

Authorizing Acts.	Character of Issue.	Amount Outstanding.
September 9, 1850.....	Bonds, Texas Indemnity.....	\$700,000 00
July 17, 1861.....	Notes, Three Years.....	332,250 00
April 15, 1862.....	Bonds.....	186,808 45
Acts prior to 1857.....	Treasury Notes.....	104,511 64
December 23, 1857.....	Treasury Notes.....	8,800 00
December 17, 1860.....	Treasury Notes.....	600 00
March 3, 1861.....	Treasury Notes.....	5,650 00
July 11, 1862.....	Temporary Loan Coin.....	1,200 00
Aggregate of debt on which interest has ceased.....		\$1,880,820 09

## DEBT BEARING NO INTEREST.

Authorizing Acts.	Character of Issue.	Amount Outstanding.
July 17, August 5, 1861, and February 12, 1862.	U. S. Notes.....	\$60,000,000 00
Less amount withdrawn.....		59,607,930 00
Amount outstanding.....		392,070 00
February 25, July 11, 1862, and January 17, 1863.	U. S. Notes.....	390,607,930 00
Issued in redemption of Temporary Loan.....	U. S. Notes.....	49,800,202 00
Less amount withdrawn.....		21,139,633 00
July 17, 1862.....	Fract'n'l Currency.....	9,634,151 64
March 3, 1863.....	Fract'n'l Currency.....	17,433,608 06
		26,487,754 70
Suspended requisitions.....		454,648,823 70
		1,220,000 00
Amount in Treasury.....	Coin.....	32,740,738 73
	Currency.....	56,236,441 18
		88,977,229 86
Aggregate of debt not bearing interest.....		\$366,891,003 84

**AMOUNT OF DEBT AND RATE OF GROWTH.**—We have contracted a debt of enormous amount as expressed in arithmetical figures. We cannot state the precise aggregate, for it is not definitely ascertained, but is known to be something more than half as large as the British debt, and may, when all footed up, reach to three-quarters of that brag monstrosity of national burdens. On the 31st of March, 1865, our debt was officially reported by the Secretary of the Treasury at the sum \$2,367,000,000. The end is not yet, indeed, but it is fairly in view, and we have the data for an approximate estimate.

The public debt on the 25th of April, 1862, was officially stated at \$523,299,945; and on the 10th of April, 1863, at \$939,487,350—an increase in 350 days of \$1,189,135 per diem. On the 26th of April, 1864, it was \$1,656,815,105,—an increase in 381 days of \$1,882,723 per diem. On the 31st of March, 1865, it stood at \$2,366,955,077, increasing in 339 days at the average rate of \$2,094,808 per diem.

**ESTIMATED AGGREGATE AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.**—If we take the highest, as well as the latest, of these average rates, as the probable daily accumulation for the remaining term of actual war ex-



penditure, and fix the limit of such maintained expenditure on the 1st of July next, ninety-one days after the last report, we have the additional sum of \$190,627,528, which will bring the debt up to a total of \$2,557,582,605 at the date assumed. And let it be noticed that the statements from which these figures are taken embrace every item of debt known to the Treasury Department—all bonds, notes, temporary loans, certificates of indebtedness, fractional currency outstanding, and all requisitions of the War, Navy, State, and Interior Departments, lying unpaid upon the Secretary's table. In a word—all the liabilities of the Government of every kind, except claims not presented, arising upon running contracts and services, unsettled or not matured—claims to become debts when ascertained and ready for payment. Those who have the least acquaintance with these unknown prospective claims, will put them at the highest figure that fancy can represent as possible; those who have the best means of forming a judgment hesitate most to name a sum; but we think that the wildest will be satisfied with the addition of the conjectural \$442,417,395 which are required to bring the total probable debt to the round sum of \$3,000,000,000, when all is settled, known, and provided for.

Here, then, we have firm foothold; and, we think, a very liberal margin allowed for contingencies, damages, pensions, and benevolences; and we can from this basis of reckoning help ourselves, with a comfortable assurance of safety, to a clear insight into the ways and means of meeting the round total of our engagements, in such way as shall at once comport with the welfare of the people who owe this debt, and the just rights of the parties who hold it.

AMERICAN AND BRITISH EXPERIENCE OF NATIONAL DEBTS.—Nothing in our own past experience helps much to an adequate comprehension of our present situation, except by the measurement of proportions rendered difficult by a vast difference of conditions. In 1816, we had a debt of \$127,000,000, which was an average charge of \$14.67 per head upon the entire population of the Union, and 7 per cent. upon the estimated value of all the property of the people; but our assumed debt of \$3,000,000,000 would be 15 per cent. of the present wealth of the loyal States, and \$98.62 per head of their population. The debt of the Revolution, and the war of 1812, was wholly discharged in nineteen years, from the ordinary sources of revenue; and though within a fraction of half as great a burden upon the capital wealth of the people, was never felt by anybody; and at the end of the term of payment, the first trouble and alarm was from a surplus of revenue of \$40,000,000, or one-third of the whole sum which had so long encumbered the Treasury.

DIFFERENCE OF CONDITIONS.—In the first ten years of that debt-paying period, the wealth of the country grew at the slow rate of 25 per cent.; and in the next decade, which closed the term, at no more than 41 per cent.; while the wealth of the loyal States increased between the years 1850 and 1860, just 126 per cent.—in amount, no

less a sum than \$6,000,000,000, or quite double the debt we are now concerned to provide for. The increase of wealth of the entire Union between 1820 and 1830, did not reach above \$800,000,000, so that here there is no parallelism of conditions, and no measure of resources and burdens to be had except by contrast.

In 1816, at the close of the twenty-two years' war with the French Republic and Empire, the British debt was \$4,205,000,000. The entire wealth of the United Kingdom was then, according to the received estimates, \$300,000,000 less than that of the loyal States in 1860; the charge per head upon her total population was \$218.20, and the encumbrance upon the total wealth of the nation 40 4-10 per cent. In the fifty years since the Battle of Waterloo, her wealth has grown at a slow but steadily increasing rate from 20 per cent. in the first, to 41 per cent. in the last ten years, that is, increasing in the first decade about \$2,100,000,000, and in the last quite \$9,000,000,000.

Here we encounter a similar unlikeness of conditions, and a similar change in the rate of progress, as that which we find in the past and present periods of our own fiscal experience. At the rate of increase in the United States between 1820 and 1830, it would have required twenty years to double our wealth, and it now requires twenty years to double the wealth of Great Britain at the rate of her increase in the last ten years; but the loyal States doubled their wealth in eight years and a half of the last decade, and the rebel States even exceeded this ratio, increasing in the same time at the rate of 9 per cent. and a fraction per annum, and doubling in a little less than eight years.

Still the state of the British debt teaches us this—that whereas it was a burden of 40 4-10 per cent. upon the wealth of the kingdom in 1816, it has fallen, by the increase of the wealth of the nation, to be but 12 per cent. now, although the total debt of that date has been reduced but \$250,000,000, or less than 5 per cent.

**DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST IN RELATION TO RESOURCES.**—The *burden* of a public debt is not at all understood merely by the figures which express its amount, nor by the *per capita* average to population, nor yet by its proportion to the capital wealth upon which it is charged. The payment of the principal is, by the terms of the contract, postponed for a longer or shorter period, and to a Government in good credit, the reimbursement may be further protracted at will, and, while thus not demandable by the public creditor, may be treated as a burden in expectancy only, or, as though during the interval it did not exist. The annual interest accruing is the form which its actual pressure takes, and until the time of reimbursement, it has no other. For all practical purposes, therefore, the aspect which the problem presents is not the proportion of debt to property, but the proportion of the current interest to the current annual product of wealth.

The great bulk of the British debt is in the form of perpetual annuities, having only a *capitalized* principal, which the Government

is under no contract to pay at all. The holders of these stocks have no right to demand the principal at any time, and the Treasury may consult its own policy and convenience as to the extinguishment. In effect, our American loans, for fixed terms of years, if the Government chooses at maturity to substitute new stocks for them, are to all purposes rendered into annuities while they run; and the inquiry now in hand is only confused by considering the burden of the principal while that principal is not due or payable.

**INTEREST ON OUR DEBT.**—On the 31st of March, 1865, the total amount of the interest-bearing debt was \$1,851,416,370, the annual interest amounting to \$102,836,531—an average of 5.55 per cent. per annum. Of the bonds and notes which make the aggregate of the interest-bearing debt, 276 1-2 millions are at 5 per cent.; 1,117 millions at 6 per cent.; 156 1-2 millions, at 6.46 per cent. (the compound interest notes), and 301 millions at 7.30 per cent. The compound interest notes will all be due in June, 1867, and the 7.30 are payable or convertible into 6 per cents. in August, 1867 and 1868. It must be recollected, also, that the 510 millions of 5-20 bonds, issued under the act of February, 1862, will be payable, at the option of the Government, on the 1st of May, 1867; and the 5-20s, into which the present running loan of 7-30 notes are convertible, will, in like manner, be payable in August, 1872 and 1873. It is entirely probable that all these stocks will, at the period designated for their optional payment by the Government, be changed, if not discharged, into 5 per cent. loans. We are therefore, entirely safe in putting the average rate of interest upon our permanent debt at 5 1-2 per cent. per annum, payable half-yearly. The average interest upon the total debt, including 515 1-2 millions in greenbacks and fractional currency, is now but 4.35 per cent. per annum. Here, again, allowance is made for the possible funding of this large sum, now bearing no interest, thus overcharging the account of the Government by the amount added for interest on the Government currency, which will most probably be kept in circulation until such time as the revenue shall exceed expenditures.

The actually accruing interest upon the total debt for the current year is, as before stated, a fraction under 103 millions per annum; but to cover the possible additions of the loan now on the market we put it at 126 millions. For the year 1866, we assume the principal at 2,700 millions, and the interest at 148 millions; thereafter the debt is taken at 3,000 millions, interest 165 millions. We are now ready for the question of the

**BURDEN OF THE INTEREST UPON OUR RESOURCES.**—The census of 1860 gives us the data for stating the wealth of the loyal States (slaves excluded) at 10,716 millions, and the products of the year at 2,870 millions, or 26.8 per cent of the capital. We know, also, that the wealth of the loyal States increased in ten

years, 1850-60, at the rate of 126 per cent., or 8 1-2 per cent. per annum.

Assuming these amounts and rates as a basis, we have, for June, 1865, a wealth of 16,112 millions, and an annual product of 4,318 millions, on which sum the 126 millions of interest would be 2.91 per cent. The like calculation for the period to which the longest of our outstanding 6 per cent. bonds run before they can be converted to lower rates of interest would stand thus (all sums stated in millions of dollars except the percentages) :

Year.	Interest-bearing Debt.	Annual Interest.	Wealth.	Annual Product.	Annual Interest to Annual Product, Per Cent.
1865	2,290	126	16,112	4,318	2.91
1866	2,700	148	17,428	4,685	3.17
1867	3,000	165	18,909	5,067	3.25
1870	3,600	165	24,218	6,490	2.54
1880	3,000	165	48,236	12,059	1.36
1881	3,000	165	51,693	12,923	1.27

The increase of the wealth of the loyal States, it will be perceived, is reduced, after 1870, from 8 1-2 per cent. to 7 1-6 per cent per annum, and the annual product from 26.8 per cent. to 25 per cent. per annum upon the capital.

These rates of production and accumulation will, perhaps, astound European statisticians, and may challenge the wonder of those among us who borrow all their economic doctrines and ideas from transatlantic authorities ; but we can say with absolute assurance that they are proved by the most conclusive evidence, in the last ten years of our national progress, and if so, we are fully warranted in taking them as a basis for our estimates of the immediate future. In 1833, Pablo Pebrer estimated the wealth of Great Britain and Ireland at 17,200 millions of dollars ; and there is not a respectable authority in the realm that will question the statement that it has quite doubled since that date. But our own figures depend in no degree or respect upon the estimates of experts. A decennial appraisalment of the property and products of the nation, with no other suspicions of error than omissions and undervaluations, in the years of 1850 and 1860 respectively, give us the facts of our situation and rate of progress, and we can rely upon them confidently as a minimum exhibit of our economic condition. The census of 1840 was much less complete ; but it shows that our advance in wealth in the last decade very exactly doubled upon that of the immediately preceding one. The best, and the best disciplined, ability of the Census Bureau gives us these results.

**PROSPECTIVE RESOURCES.**—The burden of interest upon the public debt is here calculated down to the rate of the increase in wealth in the last decade immediately before the rebellion commenced. Is this the measure of enhancement



for the next sixteen years? Let us see: In that last decade, nine of our Northwestern States and Territories grew upon the valuation of 1850 full 411 1-2 per cent. — from 452 1-2 to 1,862 millions. Four new territories, which had not been reported in 1850, were valued in 1860 at 98 millions; and the still newer ones, Dakota, Nevada, Colorado, Arizona, and Idaho, are not valued at all. These last are among the richest in the precious metals, and are rapidly rising into equality of product with California itself, but have no report in our estimates. The Government still holds, in the great West and Northwest, 950 millions of acres of land undisposed of, which are now, at the conclusion of the war, to come rapidly into market, and what is much more to the purpose, though worth a thousand millions to the Treasury in purchase-money, will, after the example of those settled and improved since 1850, rise in taxable value at an average rate of 455 per cent., and in twenty years increase about thirty times the cash value of the property of their occupants; and if every dollar received from the sale of public domain shall be bestowed upon these new States by the Federal Government in donations to their internal improvement and educational enterprises, the taxable wealth and the resulting revenue in these new States will be thereby only increased in manifold proportion to the investment.

THE MINERAL REGIONS, which invite our disbanded armies and the still larger hosts of European immigrants to open up their treasures, extend through 17 degrees of latitude, and a longitude of nearly equal measure, making an area of more than a million of square miles. They are literally stocked with gold, silver, precious stones, marble, gypsum, salt, tin, quicksilver, asphaltum, coal, iron, copper and lead; asking only an amount of labor relatively equal to that expended on California, to yield four hundred millions per annum in gold and silver alone; and in the other minerals, which will be mined as soon as transportation is provided, at least half that sum. And these things are not merely in the possible of the far future; they are near enough to answer the exigencies of our condition. A population now of thirty millions, which, during the last half century, has doubled its numbers every 23 1-2 years, with all the industrial enginery and apparatus of the age at command, animated by the spirit of adventure, and spurred by the faith and hope which work wonders, will be found sufficient for the achievement of greater things than we shall need or dare predict.

But great as the promise is in these exhaustless sources of national wealth, our reliance is not alone, nor even chiefly, in the wildness of our new world. The States called the older of the sisterhood did, in the last census decade, increase their wealth vastly more in amount and but little less in percentage than the comparatively new ones. Ohio, first settled 77 years ago, appreciated 136 per cent., but New Jersey and Connecticut, both two centuries under culture,

enhanced their wealth in as great proportion in the same time; and Pennsylvania made an increase of 96 per cent. upon her large capital of \$722,000,000.

**PETROLEUM.**—From the present developments made and making, it would seem that this new-found tributary of our national wealth is practically inexhaustible. The States of Ohio and Western Virginia are yielding it as freely as Pennsylvania, which has already reached an annual product of 70,000,000 of gallons. The promise of Kentucky is very large, and Southern California gives assuring indications of equal abundance, and even finer quality, at less cost of labor and capital. This oil, already in universal demand, is rapidly being utilized more and more by the improvements made in its manufacture, which are bringing even the residuum of the earlier processes into service, and fitting all forms of the product for employment in new uses. As for the breadth of country which holds the supply, it is safe to say that it extends within our own territory from the Alleghany Mountains on the east to the Pacific Ocean on the west; and that throughout an area of 2,000,000 of square miles of our domain, it may be found anywhere, and made available in proportion to the enterprise employed in its development. In measure of use, quantity, and value, it may be classed with our iron mines and mountains, our coal-measures, our salt, lime, marble, and all the known varieties of useful minerals; each and all laid up in reserve without any other limit of enriching products than the demand we shall make upon them.

Such, briefly are our mineral resources, the chief materials of manufacture. The supplies of which the surface of our territory is capable are, in like manner, unlimited in quantity and variety. Put but 60,000,000 of population upon the soil, and divide their industries in due and co-operative proportions, and it is entirely within limits to say that we can furnish to foreign commerce from our surplus the manufactures and provisions required by the wants of four times our own numbers. And are we not sure of these conditions of such enlarged production in the 20 years before our present debt, under the terms of the contract, becomes payable? In each of the last three scores of years we have doubled our population, and the new epoch just opening in our history promises, on the safest grounds of estimation, to exceed this proportion within the like period.

**REVENUE.**—The sufficiency of the wealth, existing and expectant, to support, without detriment to the progressive prosperity of the country, the required revenue, is thus unquestionable. Let us now glance at the ways and means of raising it.

Under our present system of internal taxes, the actual yield is at the rate of \$260,000,000 for the current calendar year. The cessation of hostilities, which is now to be looked for at an early day,\*

\* This paper was written in the early part of the year.

will diminish the receipts from the manufacturers of army supplies while they are changing into new forms of production, but any such temporary reduction in the crisis will still leave a sum which, with the receipts from customs and lands, will certainly afford for the present year an aggregate revenue of \$325,000,000. Now, the interest of the debt on the 31st of March last was \$103,000,000; and if in the remaining 9 months this form of debt should be increased \$400,000,000 at 7-30 per annum, the total interest will be a fraction less than \$126,000,000, leaving of the Treasury receipts \$200,000,000 for ordinary expenditures.

With peace restored, the civil, military and naval expenditure will not exceed this sum, and the growth of the permanent debt will cease within the conjectural limit we have assigned it. The interest for 1866 will not exceed \$148,000,000, if \$300,000,000 of the total debt shall so long remain in the form of United States notes. For these and the following years, for which we have assumed \$165,000,000 as the maximum annual interest, we have provision, in the well-assured increase of the revenue from taxes, customs, and land sales, as will presently appear.

**ADDITIONAL SOURCES OF REVENUE—EXPORT DUTIES.**—An export duty upon the cotton, tobacco, and other staples of the reconstructed Union, for which we have the command of the world's markets, is not only an ultimate reliance but a near probability, and can be made to pay from 60 to 100,000,000 dollars a year, without detriment to any American interest.\*

**REVENUE FROM THE SOUTHERN STATES.**—Nothing of this has entered into any of the preceding statements or estimates; but a duly proportioned amount of excise and assessed taxes from the restored insurgent States must not be overlooked. Their wealth, in 1860, was \$3,467,000,000, nearly 25 per cent. of the wealth of the entire United States. That they shall contribute in something like that proportion in relief of the public burdens, is clear as matter of right, and is indeed a constitutional obligation of all the members of the Union; nor is their ability in anywise doubtful. Whatever of enhanced cost or diminished quantity of production may occur in the earliest years of the restoration, will be borne by the consumers of their staples; a state of things, however, that can last for only a very brief period; for there is no product of agriculture that expands so rapidly as that of cotton. In the five years from 1855 to 1860, they doubled their product. It can be restored now in less time, and then advanced upon at the like rate; for they are soon to set forward in a career of prosperity unparalleled in all past experiences. The rebellion has disburdened them of an incubus. They have at command all that the temperate climate affords, with the semi-tropical added. They lack nothing but the population, enter-

\* If the Constitution of the United States did not offer a practical barrier to such legislation, its manifest inequality and discrimination would.—ED. REVIEW.

prise, and diversified industry of free institutions, and these are brought to them by the new order of things.

We say again, give us but 20 years to realize the promise of our means and conditions, and the United States will stand ready, with a population of 60 millions, and a wealth of not less than 60,000 millions, to meet the current burden and discharge the total debt of the nation. England, with half this amount of wealth, now feels that her still larger debt has dwindled from 40 to 12 per cent of her property. Ours then would stand at but 5 per cent of our capital, though undiminished in amount in all that period.

**INTEREST OF THE DEBT AND ORDINARY EXPENSES FOR THE NEXT SIX YEARS.**—The following tabular statement shows the result of our inquiry as to the ability of the loyal States to provide for the interest of the public debt, and the ordinary peace expenditure, until the year 1870. (All the figures of the table express millions of dollars, except the column of dates and that of percentages.)

Year.	Wealth.	Annual Product.	Annual Interest.	Annual Revenue Required.	Annual Peace Expenditures.	Per Cent. of Annual Revenue to Annual Product.
1865	16,112	4,313	126	325	199	7.55 per cent.
1866	17,428	4,685	148	348	200	7.42 "
1867	18,909	5,067	165	365	200	7.23 "
1868	20,516	5,498	165	365	200	6.68 "
1869	22,260	5,965	165	365	200	6.11 "
1870	24,226	6,492	165	365	200	5.62 "

*Note.*—The revenue for the calendar year 1865 is an estimate made upon data well ascertained. The peace, or ordinary expenses of the year, is the balance left for such use after payment of the accruing interest.

**PAYMENT OF THE DEBT IN TWENTY YEARS FROM 1870.**—It is assumed that, by the year 1870, the insurrectionary States will be fairly under the Federal Government, and in condition to contribute their due distributive share to the revenue of the Union, and that in that year the reduction of the public debt may be commenced. The following table shows the wealth of the restored Union; its annual product; the annual interest upon the debt while in progress of extinguishment; the percentage of annual product which may be applied in payment of the debt; the percentage of annual product required for ordinary peace expenditures (the amount of which is taken at 200 millions from 1870 to 1880, and thereafter at 250 millions, per annum); and the total charge per cent. of all disbursements until the debt of 3,000 millions shall be reimbursed.

**RESOURCES OF THE RESTORED UNION.—ANNUAL CHARGE REQUIRED FOR EXTINGUISHMENT OF THE DEBT IN TWENTY YEARS.**—The wealth of the Union in 1870 is obtained by taking that of the loyal States, according to the rate of increase for the 10 years before the rebellion, and adding thereto 25 per cent. for the wealth of the rebellious



States, instead of 33 1-3 per cent., which was their proportion in past times. The rate of increase for the ensuing years is calculated at 7 1-6 per cent. per annum, or 100 per cent. in 10 years. (It will be recollected that the rate before the rebellion was 8 1-2 per cent. per annum, or 126 per cent. in 10 years. The annual product is also reduced from 26.8 to 25 per cent. of the capital wealth of the year.)

Year.	Millions of Dollars.			Charge per cent. upon Annual Product of the Union.			
	Wealth.	Annual Product.	Annual Interest.	Of Annual Interest.	Of Payment of Principal.	Of Peace Expenses.	Of Total requir'd Revenue
1870	30,282	7,570	165	2.18	1	2.64	5.82
1871	32,452	8,113	160.1	1.97	1	2.46	5.43
1872	34,777	8,694	155.6	1.79	1	2.30	5.09
1873	37,269	9,317	150.9	1.62	1	2.14	4.76
1874	39,940	9,985	145.8	1.46	1	2.00	4.46
1875	42,803	10,701	140.3	1.31	1	1.87	4.18
1876	45,870	11,467	134.4	1.17	1	1.74	3.91
1877	49,157	12,289	128.1	1.04	1	1.62	3.66
1878	52,680	13,170	121.4	0.92	1	1.51	3.43
1879	56,455	14,114	114.1	0.81	1	1.41	3.22
1880	60,564	15,141	106.4	0.70	1	1.35	3.35
1881	64,904	16,226	98.1	0.60	1	1.34	3.14
1882	69,555	17,389	89.2	0.51	1	1.43	2.94
1883	74,539	18,635	79.7	0.43	1	1.34	2.77
1884	79,881	19,970	69.5	0.35	1	1.25	2.60
1885	85,606	21,401	58.5	0.27	1	1.17	2.44
1886	91,740	22,935	46.5	0.20	1	1.09	2.29
1887	98,314	24,578	33.9	0.12	1	1.01	2.13
1888	105,360	26,340	20.4	0.07	1	.95	2.02
1889	112,910	28,227	5.9	0.02	1	.88	1.90
		316,262					
Excess,		16,262					
One per cent. on 300,000 millions pays \$3,000,000,000, the principal of the debt.							

It must be noted, however, that the figures representing the percentage of the annual product of the nation's industry required to carry on the Government, pay the accruing interest, and repay the whole principal of the debt, do not express an actual taxation upon the annual product, but upon a sum equal to such product. Much of this expenditure may be borne by export duties, if adopted; some considerable share by the proceeds of the public lands, and a very considerable amount will be raised from miscellaneous sources, which are not taxes.

**BURDEN OF BRITISH TAXATION UPON THE ANNUAL PRODUCT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.**—Compare the following statement of the charge of the annual interest and ordinary expenses of the United

Kingdom upon its industry, by which her debt has been reduced less than 250 millions of dollars in 50 years, with the burden upon our growing wealth in the demonstrably practical scheme for extinguishing ours in 25 years from the close of the rebellion. The British revenue, pressing with an average weight of above 10 per cent. per annum for above 30 years, ours declining from less than to less than 2 per cent.

In the 4 years 1811-14 the average amount of annual revenue raised by taxes in Great Britain was:

\$327,489,291 equal to 21 per cent. of annual product.			
1823-279,714,100	"	16.4	"
1833-224,415,931	"	9.8	"
1841-233,209,146	"	10.6	"
1850-258,326,707	"	10.54	"
1859-344,784,895	"	11.15	"
1860-340,875,829	"	10.8	"

It will be observed that in the scheme submitted for the payment of the national debt, and exhibiting the charge to be incurred in the process, we have allowed the relative percentage of the revenue to wealth to decline regularly to the end. This is done to allow for any possible new debt that may be incurred in the interval. The statement shows that as early as 1877, the productive industry of the Union would bear an additional 50 millions of interest, and in 1885, no less than 333 millions, without carrying the annual charge of the total of such a debt and ordinary expenses above 4 per cent. upon the annual yield of the nation's capital and labor.

The faith of the nation is pledged for the discharge of all its obligations, its people have passed through a wonderful experience of their financial ability, from hope to confidence, and the cautious moderation of our calculations show that, early and easily, the national debt can be paid."

#### ART. VII.—NEW ORLEANS.

THE annual Reports of the Commerce of this great mart are presented perhaps more carefully and minutely than are those of any other in the Union, and they have been regularly presented to the readers of the REVIEW from 1845 to very nearly the present time.

We are now in possession of the Report for 1864-5, and shall cull from it some valuable data.

The effects of the war upon the commerce of the city, as a matter of course, are noticeable in almost every particular:

##### ARRIVALS AT THE PORT OF NEW ORLEANS.

Western Steamboats.	Sea Vessels.	Western Steamboats.	Sea Vessels.
1860-1.....3,171	1,579	1863-4.....1,414	2,981
1861-2.....1,456	241	1864-5.....1,481	1,449
1862-3.....655	2,045		

## VALUE OF IMPORTS.

1859-60 .....	\$185,211,254	1862-3 .....	\$29,766,454
1860-61 .....	155,863,564	1863-4 .....	79,233,985
1861-62 .....	51,510,940	1864-5 .....	111,013,293

## COTTON TRADE OF NEW ORLEANS.

Years.	Total Crop.	Receipts.		Value.
		Bales.	Av. Price.	
1855-56 .....	3,527,845	1,759,293	\$40 00	\$70,371,720
1856-57 .....	2,939,519	1,573,247	57 00	86,255,079
1857-58 .....	3,113,962	1,678,616	52 50	88,127,340
1858-59 .....	3,851,481	1,774,298	53 00	92,037,794
1859-60 .....	4,675,770	2,255,448	48 50	109,389,228
1860-61 .....	3,699,926	1,849,312	50 00	92,465,600
1861-62 .....	.....	38,880	45 50	1,749,040
1862-63 .....	.....	22,078	231 32	5,107,082
1863-64 .....	.....	131,044	356 20	46,677,872
1864-65 .....	.....	271,015	270 54	73,326,398
Total, 10 years.....	.....	11,293,221	\$58 93	\$665,527,153

## EXPORTS BALES COTTON.

Years.	Great Britain.	French Empire.	North of Europe.	South of Europe, Mexico, etc.	Total to foreign ports.	Sent Coast- wise.
1855-56 .....	986,622	244,814	162,675	178,812	1,572,923	222,100
1856-57 .....	749,485	258,163	156,450	129,619	1,293,717	123,204
1857-58 .....	1,016,716	236,596	116,304	125,454	1,495,070	164,637
1858-59 .....	954,696	256,447	182,475	146,963	1,580,581	196,590
1859-60 .....	1,426,966	313,291	136,135	129,270	2,005,662	208,634
1860-61 .....	1,159,348	388,925	122,042	113,358	1,783,673	132,179
1861-62 .....	1,312	472	.....	21,571	23,355	4,323
1862-63 .....	2,070	1,849	.....	372	4,291	19,459
1863-64 .....	1,155	4,023	.....	307	5,485	122,645
1864-65 .....	31,326	5,952	402	167	27,847	165,604
Total, 10 years..	6,359,696	1,710,532	876,483	845,893	9,792,604	1,458,275

The sugar trade of New Orleans, which in 1861 reached 459,410 hhd. has declined to 9,800 in 1864, and such is the general destruction of estates by the war that many years must elapse before there can be any approximation to the past.

	Crop.	Value.		Crop.	Value.
1861.....	459,410	\$25,095,271	1863.....	76,801	\$13,801,139
1862.....	87,231	7,749,602	1864.....	9,800	1,094,300

The tobacco trade of New Orleans is represented by the following figures:

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Stocks.	Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Stocks.
1855-56....	56,090	59,074	9,123	1860-61....	34,892	39,806	15,121
1856-57....	52,007	50,181	13,715	1861-62....	1,063	2,224	12,711
1857-58....	87,141	72,215	28,418	1862-63....	155	12,556	311
1858-59....	75,925	79,974	23,369	1863-64....	1,363	797	594
1859-60....	80,955	82,689	20,635	1864-65....	2,410	1,831	873

Total, 10 years.....\$395,061 \$401,347 \$.,873

We conclude with the following table taken from the New Orleans Prices Current of 1861, showing the receipts and distribution of cotton from the several ports of the South during one year of commercial activity :

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS, EXPORTS, AND STOCKS OF COTTON AT THE FOLLOWING PLACES AND DATES ANNEXED.

PORTS.	RECEIVED Since Sept. 1.		EXPORTED from Sept. 1, 1860, to dates.				
	1860.	1859.	To Great Britain.	To France.	Other Foreign Ports.	Total Foreign Ports.	U. S. North'n Ports.
New Orleans Aug. 31	1757150	2155898	1159348	388925	235400	1783673	132179
Mobile . . . . Aug. 23	537881	798351	340845	96429	19147	456421	67753
Savannah . . Aug. 31	477952	529322	282994	10061	9132	302187	182034
Charleston . . Aug. 31	335861	512130	186513	29886	47989	214388	122121
Florida . . . . Aug. 10	108517	173488	27140	....	938	28073	60146
Va. & N. C. Aug. 17	184277	91822	84	....	....	84	97794
Texas . . . . Aug. 17	142968	247819	47229	3640	12315	63184	51321
Memphis . . . Aug. 31	135491	134820	14989	....	....	14989	170502
Nashville, &c. . . .	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Columbus, Ky. . . .	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
New York . . . July 7	....	....	150085	48671	37661	236417	....
Other Ports. July 6	....	....	12912	87	8296	21295	....
Total Bales. . . . .	3680197	4644650	2172139	577699	370873	3120711	883900
Total to date in 1857	4644650	....	2653868	599868	501205	3754941	1087225
Increase this year . .	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Decrease. . . . .	964458	....	481729	22169	180832	684230	158325

#### ART. VIII.—OUR MEXICAN FRONTIER : ITS COMMERCE, ETC.

IMPORTANCE OF THE VALLEY OF THE RIO GRANDE—THE HARBOR OF BRAZOS SAN. TIAGO AS CONNECTED WITH THE PUBLIC WORKS NOW IN PROGRESS AND CONTEMPLATED IN MEXICO—ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC CONNECTION.

THE Rio Grande is a river two thousand miles long, extending from the Gulf of Mexico, in latitude 24, beyond Santa Fé, in New Mexico.

It is now navigated by steamboats about 330 miles, and, as appears by U. S. Government surveys, the navigation could, at small expense, be greatly extended. It is laid down by the geographers as the most navigable stream in Texas or Mexico.

This river, with its tributaries, gives at least five thousand miles of river valley, much of it suited to agriculture, and nearly all of it the finest pasture land in the world.

The natural coast outlet for all this vast extent of country, embracing all the Northern States of Mexico, to which it is the "key," is the one harbor of Brazos Santiago, the mouth of the river not being available.

Through this harbor must pass all the supplies for our military posts on a boundary line of between twelve and fourteen hundred



miles. It is the only harbor available for commerce between Aransas and Tampico, a distance of about four hundred miles.

Previous to the United States possessing the harbor of Brazos de Santiago, it was occupied by the Mexican Government as the port of entry for Matamoros and the Northern States of Mexico, the custom-house stores being located at Point Isabel.

Thus far, want of protection from Indian depredations, and continuous revolutions in Mexico, and marauding therefrom, cause a great extent of this vast country to remain unpeopled. Much of the country was known only (that is the river valley, shut in by mountains) as it appeared at the several river crossings, which were few and far between; for instance, the "Great Indian Crossing" was the only one for four hundred miles. The only extended exploration of the river was made in 1850, by order of Major W. W. Chapman, Assistant Quartermaster, as appears by his report made to Major General Jessup, Quartermaster General, from which we extract:

"H. Love left Ringgold Barracks (about 200 miles above the mouth of the river) with the keel-boat 'Major Babbitt,' under instructions to carry her to the highest attainable point on the Rio Grande, which he found at a distance of about 987 miles from Ringgold Barracks (1,167 miles from the mouth of the river), where his further progress was stopped by impassable falls. This expedition was made when the river was lower than it had been known for several years."

The only obstruction to the navigation of this river for steam boats, for 817 miles, is Kingsbury's Falls. Of these, Major Chapman, in his report, says:

"They are about two hundred feet long, with a fall of four feet; and the rock which forms them is argillaceous limestone, which is easily removed with a crow-bar. Captain Love is of opinion that a channel could be cut through them, or rather that the present channel could be widened, to admit of the passage of the steamboats 'Corvette' or 'Major Brown' (boats then running on the river below), for about \$3,000.

"From Kingsbury's Falls up to the mouth of the San Pedro, or Devil's river, a distance of 232 miles, there is nothing to obstruct the navigation of the river with steamboats of the largest class running the lower Rio Grande.

"If the obstructions at Kingsbury's Falls were removed, Fort Duncan would be furnished by keel or steamboats, thus obviating the necessity of an expensive wagon train. Should the River be rendered navigable to the mouth of the San Pedro, it would then become an important question whether it might not be judicious economy to establish a depot at that point, and transport our stores thence by land to El Paso, where it is believed a good road could be made without much labor or expense. I think the route indicated well worthy of examination; and if Captain Love's opinion should prove correct, the subject of a change in the manner of supplying El Paso and perhaps Santa Fé, which is 320 miles above El Paso, is well worthy the attention of the Government."

The face of the country between the mouth of Devil's River and Babbitt's Falls is described as generally mountainous and barren along the river, though portions of it, back from the river, between the San Pedro and the Puerco, are good for cultivation or grazing. A valley about ten miles wide, covered with fine musquito grass,

stretches for hundreds of miles between the Puerco (the Puerco is 1,200 miles long) and the Rio Grande. With this exception, the report describes the soil on both sides of the river as very fertile, and at intervals well timbered with live oak, mulberry, pecan, ebony, ash, elm, musquito.

The main extent of the valley is described as :

"Beautiful and rich beyond description, and watered by numerous streams flowing into the Rio Grande on both sides. On these streams are many fine mill sites, with excellent water-power. Large droves of wild horses, herds of thousands of black-tailed deer roam over the country. Game of nearly all kinds is abundant. The streams abound with perch and the regular speckled trout of our mountain streams.

"The country is the finest in the world for grazing, and capable of sustaining any given number of cattle, sheep and goats. From the mildness of the climate, sheep, in this region, and in fact along the whole valley of the Rio Grande to its mouth, require no sheds during the winter months, as they can graze the entire year. The sheep along the valley of the Rio Grande seem to be free from the diseases so common to the North."

The small expense of taking care of them is evidenced by the fact that, previous to the late war, sheep could be purchased there at fifty cents per head. A pamphlet by J. A. Stevens, Esq., entitled, "The Valley of the Rio Grande, its Topography and Resources," contains much valuable and correct information, from which we quote on this subject :

"This pasturage is a grand element of the wealth of the country, and stock may be rapidly increased. The cost of raising beeves five years old is about \$3; of horses and mules, about \$10 to \$12 per head. At the time of the annexation of Texas, in 1845, the stock-raiser thought himself well paid at \$3 to \$10 for fat beeves; but the increase of trade with the Northern States had carried the prices in 1860 to \$20."

To understand fully the value of these immense pasture fields, let us look at the increased value of their products. The price of cotton is five or six times the price of 1860, and years will probably elapse before it rules less than threefold its price in 1860. As a natural sequence, wool now commands and will continue to command an increased value. Texas or Mexican wool, quoted at about ten cents in 1860, is now quoted about thirty cents per lb. Beef has increased in nearly the same proportions. On the millions of acres of these pasture lands of the Rio Grande Valley and its surroundings, it costs no more to raise sheep and beeves than it cost in 1860; and it costs less than in any other part of the world where property is protected.

In view of this state of facts, we cannot easily over-estimate the value of the vast products of this immense territory, nor can we suppose that so inviting a field for capital and enterprise will remain neglected. But much of this country is well adapted to agriculture, to cotton, tobacco, grains, and the valley is suited to irrigation.

We have now referred to the country along the valley for about eleven hundred miles, so far as our keelboat ascended. We will now go three hundred and twenty miles by the river, further up to

El Paso, between 1,400 and 1,500 miles above the mouth. In the year 1850, the "New York Herald" called attention to the "Importance of the trade of the Rio Grande Valley, situated within two weeks' sail of our city;" and, referring to the productions of the valley, gave a letter from El Paso, to the Hon. W. L. Marcy, Secretary of War, from which we extract:

"The settlement of El Paso extends from the falls of the Rio Grande on the north, to the Presidio on the south, a distance of twenty-two miles, and is one continuous orchard and vineyard, containing at least eight thousand population. This spacious valley is about midway between Santa Fé and Chihuahua. The breadth of the valley is about ten miles. The falls are about north of the public square, and afford sufficient water for grist and sawmills to supply the entire settlement. The most important production of the valley is the grape, from which is annually manufactured not less than two hundred thousand gallons of perhaps the richest and best wines in the world. This wine is worth two dollars per gallon (at El Paso). These wines are superior in richness of flavor to anything I ever met with in the United States, and I doubt not are equal to the best wines produced in the valley of the Rhine, or on the sunny hills of France."

And the country bordering on the valley is thus described:

"Near El Paso the whole vast country bordering on the spurs and chains of the Sierra Madre is studded on every side with metallic ore, valuable beyond the calculation of man, and the possession of which may well excite the cupidity of dynasties, decide the destiny of nations, and change the political aspect of the world."

Three hundred and twenty miles *via* the river we reach Santa Fé, in New Mexico.

New Mexico contains 207,000 square miles, and is about 700 miles from East to West, and 400 miles from North to South. New Mexico proper in its general aspect is mountainous, with a large longitudinal valley running from north to south, and through which flows the Rio Grande. This valley is generally about twenty miles wide, and bounded on the east and west by mountain chains. The main artery for New Mexico is the Rio Grande. The mineral resources of the territory are abundant. Gold, silver, and copper are found in the mountains and in the valley of the Rio Grande.

New Mexico was taken possession of by the Spaniards in 1598, many towns, of which only the ruins now remain, were established at that time; the mines were successfully worked, when in 1680 a general insurrection of the Indian tribes broke out against the Spanish yoke. The Spaniards were either massacred or driven southward, where they founded "El Paso." There must exist some great inducements in this country to have caused these considerable settlements by the Spaniards *so far in the interior*, nearly three hundred years ago.

We will now glance at the Northern States of Mexico, tributary to our harbor, which are the States of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila and Chihuahua, at least, and we are again indebted to Mr. Stevens for some careful compilations in reference to these States:

"NUEVO LEON is a mountainous country abounding in mines of silver, iron, copper and lead, capable of a great development with the aid of the new improved machinery and reduced price of quicksilver. The mines are essentially virgin, and have been little worked, owing to the difficulty of transporting the product to the coast; nitrate of potash and muriate of soda are also found in large quantities. *Monterey* is the capital, with a population of 30,000, and is fast improving. This city lies at the foot of the Sierra Madre, and is the natural point of distribution for a large part of Northern Mexico. The roads are open throughout the year from this point, in all directions, while that from Tampico is almost closed during the rainy season. The transportation from Tampico is by mules, there being no wagon trains across the mountains which lie between the coast and the interior. Eight or ten cotton factories have been established in this State. *Coahuila* is more mountainous than Nuevo Leon. Its population is sparse; the vine is cultivated to some extent with great success. Formerly the mines were extensively worked, and with large results, but the internal disturbances and Indian raids, have destroyed this industry. There are several cotton factories in this State, of which the principal is at Saltillo, the capital, a place of about 20,000 population. *Chihuahua*, adjoining Coahuila to the westward, is rich in agriculture, in vineyards, in pasturage, and in mines, principally silver, of matchless richness."

The copper mines of Chihuahua are said to be the richest in the world.

In addition to Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, and Chihuahua, the States of Zacatecas, Durango, Aguas Calientes, and part of San Luis Potosi, all mining districts, have received part of their supplies through the harbor of Brazos Santiago. Humboldt estimated the yield of the mines of Mexico prior to 1803 at \$1,767,952,000. The most brilliant of Mexican fortunes have been the result of successful mining. Of the most noted instances are :

"The family of Buslameto, from the products of a Northern mine, purchased for \$300,000, made a present to the King of a ship of the line and loaned a million of dollars. In Somberette, Durango, the mine of Pavillan yielded at one period, twenty thousand dollars a day for five years; the water then rose, overcame their rude machinery, and the mine lay abandoned for eighty years. It was again restored and yielded immense revenues. The Count of Regla in twelve years obtained a net profit of \$5,000,000. Zunega took from the mine of Santa Anna over \$4,000,000. These are instances of the most famous mines. The mines in the Sierra Madre, in the three States named, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, and Chihuahua, are as yet nearly virgin, and have never been worked with any regularity or system; the Indians have almost broken up the settlements outside of the large mines, but there is nothing in the configuration of the country which warrants the belief that they are any less rich than those of which these wondrous tales are told; and this remark is equally applicable to the Rio Grande mountain region in Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico. Moreover, the yield is as yet only partial, the old "patio" process not being equal and adequate to the treatment of refractory ores. The application of the new processes has been found to increase the yield three to five fold. The mines in the districts named are peculiarly well situated for early and cheap developments, the country being well timbered, the soil capable of any production, and the climate healthy in an uncommon degree. As an evidence of the abundant yield of some of the lead mines, it is stated that lead from Monterey, taken from mines in its vicinity, was sold in New York at five and three quarter cents per lb. and paid a fair profit to the miner, after the payment of all expenses, freight and commissions; this ore was transported by wagons from Monterey to Brazos Santiago, about two hundred and forty miles. Copper ore has also been forwarded in the same way, and with the same re-



sult. From this some idea may be imagined of the wealth which this industry will yield when steam and railroads will have diminished the cost of transportation.

We have thus seen the importance of the harbor at Brazos Santiago, under the existing state of things. The glance we have taken of the undeveloped wealth and resources of the vast country tributary to it, point to an incentive for the improvement of the navigation of the Rio Grande, and the construction of railroads connecting with it. "The New York Chronicle," of July 15, says :

"Maximilian has issued an Imperial decree, authorizing a Company of 'Mexican American Immigration,' and to that Company extends the most inviting prospects; and it will not be uninteresting to exhibit the resources that Mexico has in store for those who propose emigration or investment. They are embraced in an official document.

"By the laws of the Empire, aliens can hold possession of the mines as well as Mexicans, whether by furnishing capital to the proprietors for their working, or by right of discovery. In this category nature has been so prodigal in Mexico that occupation will not be lacking for capital as well as for strangers who may immigrate."

The decree further continues :

"*Public Works* :—Thus far a single line of railroad is in construction from Vera Cruz to Mexico, another has been granted to the Pacific to follow closely the direction of the great valley through which runs the Lerma, that is to say, by way of Toluca, and the Department of Mexico, Moralia, Guanajata, and Jalisco, and to terminate at San Blas. But others are to be constructed, and the Government is well disposed to issue the grants to private companies. The lateral lines to connect with this principal artery are as follows :

- "1. From the River Acambara to Guanajata.
- "2. From Guanajata to Guadalajara, via Leon and Lagos.
- "3. Queretaro to Matamoras, via San Luis Potosi and Saltillo.
- "4. From Zacatacas to Durango, via Aguas Calientes.
- "5. From the Port of Mazatlan to Durango and Chihuahua."

The "New York Tribune" Correspondent, August 12, 1865, says :

"The great railroad which is to unite Vera Cruz with the City of Mexico is progressing rapidly. Eight thousand wheelbarrows had just been landed at Orizaba for the service of the Company. Another railroad is to be established in Sonora, by Mr. Neil, who is assisted by several European and Californian capitalists."

And at a later date says :

"The work of building the railroads in Mexico is being pushed vigorously by Smith, Knight, and Co., the great railway contractors of South America and elsewhere."

In this article we do not intend to discuss the question whether the Imperial Government is, or is not, a permanent institution; but we intend to show what public works are feasible and are called for. These contemplated roads are the results of scientific examinations and preliminary surveys made, as we are aware, at the instance of the present Government.

Our attention has been particularly arrested in this connection by

the contemplated roads leading to connect Matamoros with Mazatlan; Mazatlan is the most considerable Mexican port on the Pacific coast, and is the usual stopping place for the American and European steamers.

This road between Matamoros and Mazatlan will pass through the States of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Durango, Guadalajara, and Sinaloa, and border on the States of San Luis Potosi, and Zacatecas. Here are eight States at least directly and vitally interested in the prosecution of this work; what would be the cost of such a road compared with the increased value of the country that would be thereby developed? the increased revenue to the Government from the increased productions from its mines, its fertile agricultural valleys, and the cities, towns, and villages that would spring up along its route, and its depots on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts?

But, independently of a pecuniary point of view, it is a great national work. A glance at the map will point it out as a natural, direct and necessary line of communication between the two oceans.

Our subject is the Valley of the Rio Grande, the harbor of Brazos Santiago, and their connection with the public works of Mexico, and we dwell upon this work connecting Matamoros and Mazatlan as one that must be achieved. Look at it with its contemplated and necessary laterals as connected with the harbor of BRAZOS.

We are interested in the prosperity of Mexico. She is and ever must be our customer. Consider her cotton factories at Monterey and Saltillo, and even much farther in the interior, all of the machinery for which were taken from our workshops, transported through Brazos, and thence, *via* Matamoros, by wagons from 300 to 500 miles in the interior. Heavy machinery for mining operations has taken the same route, and indeed almost every other article of northern manufacture.

When the great works contemplated will be in the course of execution, by whatever government—when emigration shall have had its full sway—when capital will take the route to Mexico—when, by the aid of improved machinery, its mineral wealth will be developed—when public confidence in the security of property and the stability of the Government will be established—when its commerce will be freed from the shackles that have weighed so heavily upon it in the past, for “she it is who points the way and beckons skill and labor on”—then, who can estimate the value, the extent of the productions and commerce of that country, and of our commerce with Mexico? Mexico—our next door neighbor for nearly two thousand miles of boundary!

In 1857, a movement was made under Governor Vidaurri in Mexico to establish railroad communication between Monterey and Matamoros, there to be met by rail communication between Point Isabel and Brownsville—thus connecting Monterey with the Gulf. This road would have accomplished more than one-third the distance between the Gulf and Mazatlan.

"The route from Matamoros for three-fourths of the distance to Monterey is almost level, the approach to Monterey being the only section which would need any considerable outlay. Labor is cheap, timber is plenty; and all the materials can be had in the country except iron. Perhaps in no part of the world could a road of the same length be so cheaply constructed, and the value of this road alone, without any extension, cannot easily be too highly estimated; but the revolution of the Church Party in 1858, and foreign intervention since, checked the enterprise."

The New York Chamber of Commerce, in a memorial to the United States Congress in 1864 (which we find in their Annual Report of that year), asks for subsidies to be granted to ocean steamship lines in the general interest of the country. Among other subsidies asked for was one for a line to be established from New York to Point Isabel at the Brazos Santiago. This recommendation, as appears by the memorial, was made with especial reference to the trade with Northern Mexico, and in that connection the importance of the Atlantic and Pacific connection which we have discussed did not escape attention. It says:

"This line (from Point Isabel *i. e.* Brazos Santiago) will ultimately become very important when railroad communication is open to Monterey, and thence to Mazatlan on the Pacific. This road will make one of the most important connections in the world, being on the direct line from London to Hong Kong."

From official documents we see that at the commencement of our War with Mexico, the attention of our Government was especially directed to securing a main depot for supplies for our army that was to operate against Matamoros and the Northern States of Mexico. It will be remembered that General Taylor with his army approached the Mexican frontier by land, and remained some months at Corpus Christi, so that he and his staff had personal knowledge of the coast of Texas. In January, 1845, Secretary Marcy wrote to General Taylor, calling his attention to Brazos Santiago harbor thus: "From the views heretofore presented to this Department it is presumed that Point Isabel (Brazos Harbor) will be considered by you an eligible position;" but instructed him that the officers of the Engineer Corps should examine under his direction the country "with a view to occupation for depots of supplies, arms, and munitions of war." In January, 1846, General Taylor arrived at Point Isabel, commenced fortifying and erecting barracks, a hospital, etc., and immediately wrote to the War Department: "Our great depot must be here, and it is very important to secure it against any enterprise of the enemy."\*

\* An idea has prevailed to some extent that no permanent improvements can be made in the harbor of Brazos, or on that portion of the coast, while the fact is, we have in one portion of the harbor, to wit, Point Isabel, by official reports, as secure a location as the city of New York itself, and for miles in extent. These official reports to our Government also show that the land at the mouth of the river and Brazos Island are subject to inundations by overflows from the sea, and the destruction to life and property by storms and overflows had been so great that previous to our occupation the Mexican Government forbid any settlements either at the mouth of the river or on Brazos Island, and Mexico established her customs stations for Brazos harbor at Port Isabel.

We have now shown the extent of our river valleys and the mineral wealth surrounding them; the capabilities of the Rio Grande for extended navigation; the increased value of the products of these valleys; that the main depot for the army supplies for this extended frontier must be at Brazos harbor; that it is the only available harbor on the coast for four hundred miles; that it is the coast key to the Northern States of Mexico; that these States abound in mineral wealth, with, also, great agricultural capabilities; that the contemplated public improvements in Mexico bear directly upon our frontier and harbor, and upon the prosperity of our country generally; that the contemplated route between Matamoros and Mazatlan is a great national work, pointed out by nature; and that it will be achieved.

The whole subject will, however, come under discussion at an early day in our pages, and much additional and valuable information will be given.

#### ART. IX.—THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO POPULATION.

##### THE QUESTION OF COLONIZATION WITH REFERENCE TO THE EMANCIPATED NEGROES CONSIDERED—PLANS OF COLONIZATION—LIBERIA.

We expressed our opinions frequently and fully in the past with reference to Liberia and the Colonization Society; and although willing to accord the purest and best motives to the movers of the scheme, we did not regard it desirable, either for the interest of the white or negro population of the South, and thought that we proved by the figures that for any practical purpose, further than as a missionary enterprise, it was a failure.

Since these discussions a great change has taken place in the relations of all the parties, and it must be evident enough to every intelligent statesman as well as philanthropist, that but three practical propositions are before the country: Either the negro must work and remain a productive element of society, or he must cease to cumber the soil and be transported to another, or he must, in contact and conflict with a superior race, like the Indian submit to annihilation.

The momentous subject is opened for the future, and prior to experience nothing can be determined upon it.

In this view we insert the article which follows, and will open our pages for the further discussion of the subject from time to time, without committing ourselves to any theory or argument which we have not especially endorsed. The writer in this instance was born in Mississippi, and resided most of his life in that State, in Louisiana and Texas, where he was universally esteemed and respected.—EDITOR.

WHILE the late civil war was raging, it engrossed the national mind. The negro population were occupied with visions of indefinite benefits, which they were to reap from the issue of the contest. It was not to be expected that they would turn aside, and consider the offer of a new home on a distant continent. But since the war, as its actual results have been transpiring, a sober contemplation of the prospect before them, has led one hundred and fifty freedmen of Virginia to apply for the aid of the American Colonization Society in embarking for the land of their fathers, and a wide-



spreading desire to follow them may be occasioned by future developments.

The Colonization Society, anticipating an increased demand for its services, has adopted resolutions formally recognizing the augmented responsibilities devolved upon it by the enlarged number of freedmen. The spirit with which the directors meet the crisis reminds one of the abiding confidence expressed by a zealous and indefatigable promoter of their scheme in its incipency. On a certain occasion, when pressed by innumerable objections, he closed his patient reply by affirming, "The cause is God's, and must prevail." This utterance sprang from an unwavering conviction that the plan was not only righteous but providentially adapted to the existing state of things. Time shall prove whether Finley was an enthusiast, or a sage. The direct aim of the enterprise is "to colonize with their own consent the free people of color." Yet it achieves certain incidental benefits of vast importance. As the founders had these in their eye, they demand our notice. The first is the *prevention of the slave trade*. The territory of Liberia lies in that portion of the continent which was for centuries the field of the slaver's greatest activity. Thither the victims of predatory war were forced from their homes in the interior. Thence they were shipped, many of them to die from suffocation, and the remnant to endure countless horrors before reaching the land of their bondage. Towards the suppression of this commerce the settlements of Sierra Leone and Liberia have effected more than navies. The boundaries of the latter, having been extended by successive treaties with about forty tribes, embrace seven hundred miles of sea-coast. Within those limits about two hundred thousand natives are supposed to reside, who are amenable to the laws of the Liberian Government. These have been forbidden to engage in their former inhuman barter, and persuaded to substitute various kinds of lawful traffic. The vigilance of the authorities may be inferred from the mission which they sent to France in 1856. At that time, vessels in the employment of contractors, patronized by the French Government, were engaged in procuring laborers on the coast of Africa, for the sugar plantations in the French colonies. The pretense was, that the laborers were engaging voluntarily to work for stipulated wages. But as the contracts were made with the chiefs the service of their men was actually involuntary. In order to stop the practice, negotiations at Paris were determined on; and President Roberts was appointed to conduct them. He was successful, and the traffic was abandoned.

More than once has the colony been attacked by neighboring tribes because of its interference with the slave-trade. It has at different times burned down the houses erected for the storage of captured negroes. About six thousand captives, rescued from slavers, have found a safe asylum and a happy home on Liberian soil.

Another incidental benefit of the Society's enterprise appertains to the *cause of evangelization*.

"How can the dark regions of Western and Interior Africa be

illuminated by the mild radiance of the Gospel?" is a question which has perplexed many minds, and burdened many hearts. The difficulty of solution arises from the undeniable fact that the climate is fatal to the white man. Under the successors of Augustus, the best Roman legions marched against the unarmed inhabitants of Ethiopia. But the laws of climate and of race asserting their supremacy, destroyed the invaders. After a lapse of centuries, in 1841, an agricultural colony from England settled at the confluence of the Niger and Chad. But out of one hundred and forty-five white persons all sickened, and forty died; while, on the other hand, out of one hundred and fifty-eight colored persons, only three or four sickened, and none died. Similar attempts have always resulted abortively. Yet, the disastrous disclosures have not prevented missionary expeditions. Roman Catholics, of different nations and orders, have hazarded experiments, extending through four centuries. Sad is their history. In spite of their zeal, Portuguese, Spaniards and French-Capuchins, Dominicans, and Jesuits, have succumbed to the malaria. That the field has not been entirely abandoned by Protestants is a proof that there still exists in some hearts a spirit of martyrdom. To a friend, who was arraying before Samuel J. Mills the dangers of the climate, he sublimely replied, "I am immortal as long as God has use for me." A similar sentiment has inspired the chivalric men, who, from time to time, have stepped forward to fill the vacancies, made by pestilence in the missionary ranks. We admire their apostolic heroism. Yet we hail any suggestion by which a desolating sacrifice of life can be avoided. Therefore, we look with glad interest on the scheme of colonization. The atmosphere, which is so destructive to the Caucasian, is comparatively harmless to the African. Though the latter seldom escapes a process of acclimation, the ordeal is not severe. This comparative impunity designates him as the appropriate cultivator of the missionary field in that portion of the tropical zone. Liberia is destined to be a community of light-bearers. Her churches are yet in their infancy, but they have already made an impression. As the fruit of this impression, they have received into fellowship hundreds of converted natives. These may be regarded as earnest of trophies yet to be won by releasing from Fetichism and cannibal superstitions thousands who are now paralyzed by their grasp.

These benign results have been dwelt upon because they were predicted, and the anticipation of them was fondly cherished by the projectors of the American Colonization Society. But the constitution of the society states as "the object to which its attention shall be exclusively directed, the promoting and executing a plan for *colonizing with their own consent the free people of color residing in our country.*"

That special object gave it favor in the eyes of many among our purest and most enlightened statesmen.

To confirm this remark it is merely necessary to mention the names of those who have presided over it since its organization. The

first President was Bushrod Washington. He was succeeded by Charles Carroll, of Carrollton. After him, the post was filled by James Madison. His successor was Henry Clay, and the present incumbent is J. H. Latrobe, Esq.

Among its earnest advocates we might refer to Francis S. Keyes, Edward Everett, G. W. Bethune, and others, whose identity with it was sufficient to give a prestige of which few benevolent institutions can boast.

If those great men were again among us, they would probably insist that the present national juncture ought to place the claims of that society before us in bold relief. Though slavery is extinct, the negro still remains, an object of solicitude and speculation. Discussions are rife upon the best method of directing his lately-acquired freedom, so that it shall advance his own and the general welfare. Without controverting any theories, the Colonization Society is content with the making a practical offer. To every colored person desirous of a residence in Africa it proffers a gratuitous passage thither, with provisions, medical aid, and a shelter for six months. It also presents him a title, in fee-simple, to five acres of land, with an additional quantity for each member of his family.

In asserting that the society avoids the arena of physiological and political controversy, we are not overlooking the fact, that its noiseless movements are characterized by the assumption of two opinions. These must have a distinct consideration.

It assumes the negro's *capacity for self-government*.

Confident as to the result, it ventured to initiate a Republic, of which the citizens are all Africans or their descendants. It hazarded the experiment under every disadvantage. Its citizens were to be adventurers in the forest of a foreign soil, and encounter difficulties similar to those which almost baffled the hardy emigrants of Plymouth and Jamestown. But in addition to these obstacles, another presented itself, which threatened to be insurmountable. That obstacle was created by the character of the natives residing within the purchased limits of the commonwealth, and the relation into which they would be permitted to enter. Though they were barbarians of the lowest grade, they were to be cordially embraced, and allowed the rights of citizenship. Would not the incorporation of this impracticable element into the body politic, occasion a total failure? Some strong believers in the negro's capacity for self-government had misgivings, lest the Republic, with such an incubus, should prove to be an abortion.\* But up to this time nothing has occurred to justify their forebodings.

\* QUERY.—Were not the emigrants for Liberia taken from the most advanced and cultivated class of our negroes, who had long the benefits of civilization before them, and was there not an influential element of mulatto blood, and do not these colonists make up, practically, the Republic? Believing as we do that Republicanism is scarcely more than possible with the advanced and enlightened races of Caucasian blood, it is going to the verge of our faith to admit the practicability of a republic of civilized negroes; but how boundless is the faith that would draw into the sacred circle the barbarians whom Mungo Park describes, and Livingstone, Barth, and others, exhibit in their native deformity! We cannot and do not suppose our worthy contributor, or the society to which he is referring, intend such a meaning to their words.—  
EDITOR.]

The natives have manifested an unexpected desire to enjoy the opportunities of education; twenty thousand of them have become full citizens by taking the oath of allegiance; several of them are even holding offices; and order has been maintained throughout the entire population. The Government has now stood amidst the storms of forty years. The President, Cabinet, Legislature, Judges, Army and Navy, are all men of the negro race. Forty vessels for commerce are owned, manned and officered by her own citizens. They control their own public schools and college. They have their own clergy with numerous congregations. If they are not manifesting the activity of Americans, they present a fine specimen of orderly and happy society.

In consequence of this self-sustained prosperity, Liberia has been acknowledged as an independent nationality by the leading powers of the earth. Her friends proclaim that the experiment of self-government has been satisfactory. They who think the Emancipation Proclamation premature, must agree that the enterprise merits serious and special consideration. The new attitude into which the negroes have been thrown will test their capacities. Some experiment is unavoidable. Where can it be tried under more favorable auspices, than in a community composed of their own race, which has sustained its organization, despite unparalleled discouragements?

The other assumption of the colonization scheme is the inability of colored persons to realize in the *United States*, that happiness which depends on social equality.

This position has been stigmatized as harsh and oppressive. But they who utter that censure are requested to observe that the society adopts no measures to render the race uncomfortable in this land. Its operations are based on the belief that they are already encircled by influences of taste and feeling from which they cannot escape, unless they emigrate. In the view of these influences, it merely says to them, "If you wish to change your residence, we will furnish the facilities for gratifying your aspirations."

What framed the law forbidding Africans to reside in the State of Indiana? What controlled the vote of Connecticut which (despite the intense sympathy occasioned by the late war) excluded them from the elective franchise? What excited the gangs who rushed along the wharves of New York, driving off the negro stevedores, and inflamed the rioters, who hunted negroes like wild beasts in her streets, and applied the torch to their Orphan Asylum? In public conveyances, the presence of colored men or women is merely tolerated. They are not seen in private parlors—nay, even in the sanctuaries of religion they are separated from the other worshippers as a distinct class.

Such is their treatment even in States where slavery has been abolished for more than half a century. If the potent influence of time has not overcome the repulsion, what will? Intellectual elevation? Instances of such elevation have not been wanting. Yet, while it has commanded respect, it has not secured freedom of inter-



course. Even when those possessing it have been thrust forward, they have been mortified by the mere toleration received at the hands of their friends, and by the absence of any hearty and genial feeling.

As a specimen of their convictions on this subject, we cite an extract from a letter written by the Rev. Martin H. Freeman, the principal of an institution for colored persons in Pennsylvania. Having resolved last year to emigrate, he gave, in justification of that course, the following reason :

"I am persuaded that emigration to Liberia is the quickest, surest and best way by which the negro can arise to the proper status of mankind. I do not expect to improve my pecuniary condition. I have a congenial situation, and a comparatively prominent position. But I have an earnest conviction that I am a man, and, by consequence, that it is not only my privilege, but my duty, to secure for myself and my children all the rights and immunities that pertain to humanity."

His language utters a conclusion drawn from the actual state of public feeling. The African mind which expands here must resist the contracting force of the obstacles referred to. If it is to attain happiness, it must soar to independence of social sentiment. In most cases, the feelings engendered by repulsion will have a bitterness proportioned to the advancement of those by whom it is experienced.

They who expect the barrier between the races to be obliterated in the United States, might learn a lesson by glancing at the West Indies. Of the prosperity and progress in those Islands, let us suppose the brightest picture to be correct. With that picture in view, it may be asked whether this prosperity or progress has secured for the negro the coveted boon of social equality? A negative and significant reply is given to that question by recent developments. Within the present year, three hundred and forty-six citizens of Barbadoes emigrated to Liberia. As a preliminary step, it seems that, in the year 1848, there was formed on that Island an "Association for furthering African Colonization." In 1855, they addressed to President Roberts a letter containing the following language :

"To go into a detail of all the differences between the colored classes of this colony, and indeed the West Indies generally, and the more favored races, would be superfluous. Suffice it to say that an amelioration of our condition can only be hoped for in a country where there are no conventional bars, or unnatural obstacles, to our entering in the race of competition with any class or race of our fellow-citizens, and reaching the goal, how exalted soever, if we carry in ourselves the necessary mental and other qualifications which warrant the indulgence of such aspirations . . . Driven by stern necessity to carry our genius and acquirements elsewhere, if we would avoid ultimate mental debasement and social degradation, and that widespread demoralization which must inevitably result from the shipwreck of self-respect, we have elected to proceed to Liberia."

In 1864, C. T. Fortune wrote to President Warner, from Trinidad :

"I am requested by some of my countrymen, sons of Africa, who are suffering under the yoke and oppression of colonial prejudice, to address your Excellency, praying for all the information necessary for facilitating their passage from these shores; as they are over-anxious to emigrate to that land where one breathes the air of independence, and feels himself at home in the fullest sense of the word."

Mr. Henry B. Hooker (of whom it is remarked, in the report of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, that "the accuracy of his observation and the soundness of his judgment need no attestation") visited the West India Islands in 1857, and became deeply interested in the colored population. In a letter from Barbadoes, to the Rev. Joseph Tracy, he said:

"There runs through the Island that marked line of distinction between the English and the African races, which, as in other parts of the world, prevents their meeting on the same level, in the intercourse of social life. 'Education and refinement only render the condition of the colored race the more irksome. The intelligent and aspiring cannot rise to the condition of the white man;' and they cannot merge themselves again in the mass of the ignorant and degraded, from which they have arisen."

In St. Thomas, one of the Danish Islands, has been formed "the St. Thomas Liberia Association, for the purpose of promoting emigration." As to the character of that association, E. W. Blyden, a native of that island, but now a prominent citizen of Liberia, informs us that it "embraces the wealth and intelligence of the community." Thus it appears that the negroes, long since emancipated in those islands, are pressed down by the weight of public opinion. The larger our concessions, as to their advancement in knowledge and morals, the more irresistible is the conclusion that repugnance between the African and Caucasian is indestructible. Let it not be forgotten that the proportionate number of negroes is far larger there than here. In Jamaica, there is a population of 346,000, of whom only 16,000 are white. In Barbadoes, of 126,000 inhabitants, only 15,000 are white. It is seen that, in the former, the negroes constitute nineteen-twentieths, and in the latter, seven-eighths of the people, whereas in the United States they number one-eighth. There, they have an overwhelming majority; here, they count but a small minority. If, with the force of numbers on their side, they cannot make their way to the level there, why expect them to reach it here, where the numbers are largely against them? Legislation may allow them equal rights in our courts of justice and privileges at the ballot-box, equal means of common and professional education, but it cannot raise them above the position of an inferior caste. With such inferiority, most of them may be satisfied. But, probably, every year shall swell the number of those who wish to emigrate. When that desire is expressed, whither shall their attention be directed? To the British or Danish West Indies? We have seen that the inequality complained of here is lamented there. Shall they seek a home in Hayti?

It has already been tried, and found wanting. In 1824, and during several subsequent years, a large number from the Northern and Southern States repaired thither. But they were not admitted to full citizenship; the avenues to preferment were closed against them; and such was the incompatibility in manners, and politics, and religion, that hundreds returned, and the project was abandoned.

Statesmen, in high places, have proposed to set apart for this purpose some region on the American Continent. This proposition might be entertained by many if there were reasonable grounds for expecting that a territory could be insured to the colony as an isolated residence. But such an expectation overlooks the past history of American advancement. Remembering the extent to which the Indians have been pressed by "the white man's greed of land," it were idle to expect the permanent segregation of a negro colony. According to the present ratio of increase, the population of the United States, in seventy years from to day, will be two hundred millions. If, when the census is but thirty-five millions, the Aborigines cannot be left undisturbed, what dykes could prevent the swelling flood of future emigration from overflowing the negroes? No colony in *America* could be secured against encroachment. The requisite locality is found in no quarter of the globe, except Western Africa. There, the white man cannot live. The Liberian, shielded by his climate against intruders, is "monarch of all he surveys." Recognized as a peer, he can stand erect, and enter the career of competition without a paralysing sense of inferiority.

In the crisis through which our country is passing we look with anxiety to the American Colonization Society. It were extravagant to anticipate the removal of our entire colored race. Yet it is not unreasonable to conjecture, that the number of departures may grow with the facilities for emigration. Those facilities may be multiplied by the increase of trade with Western Africa. As to the future extent of that trade, there are no data on which to base a positive opinion. Yet it is worthy of remark, that there are present signs of expansion. In 1833 the palm oil, imported from Western Africa into Great Britain, was valued at \$2,045,000. The amount has been steadily rising, and in 1862 (the date of our latest statistics) it was upwards of \$7,000,000. In consequence of the augmenting commerce in that and other articles, the British West African Steamships have announced an arrangement for a semi-monthly mail. "The Company of African Merchants" and "The London and African Company," are the titles of two commercial associations recently organized in London. Their ships, are scattered along the seaboard of Western Africa, and are forming business relations with the merchants of Liberia. Their movements indicate a rising appreciation of the trade. Let it be observed, that this result has been occasioned by the fact that the colonies constitute *media* of traffic with the natives in the interior. Much larger results may be expected, when the resources of the colonies themselves shall be developed by the hand of civilization.

Those resources have not been fully explored; yet sufficiently so to prove that they are valuable. Iron ore abounds; and the opinion is confidently expressed that there is a rich supply of copper and other minerals. The rivers, though generally too small for extensive navigation, are numerous. The character of the soil may be inferred from a list of its productions. Among them may be mentioned rosewood, teak, mahogany, hickory, poplar, sassa wood, and other trees valuable for ship-building and architecture; camwood, ebony, acacia, copal tree, cactus, and several varieties of palm; maize, rice, and on the highlands wheat, barley and oats. The principal farinaceous and esculent plants grow well. Among the fruits are the mango, lemon, lime, orange, guava, tamarind, pomegranate, cocoanut, plantain, banana, pineapple, and African peach. The staples are cotton, sugar, coffee and indigo. The quality of these has been attested by the price they bring in the United States market. They sell at a rate as high as those imported from any country. A firm who recently purchased several bales of Messurado cotton have written the following testimonial:

"We worked it alone, in our mill, to test its quality; and can say that we think it fully equal to our own American upland cotton. It has an excellent fiber, dyes well, and can be used in manufacturing cotton fabrics of all kinds."

A specimen lot of indigo from Bassa County was submitted to the scrutiny of a merchant in Philadelphia, who had been long conversant with the manufacture of that article in India. He declares "it better than the medium quality from Bengal; and it is evident, that with care, the best of indigo can be obtained from Liberia." A soil yielding products such as those above mentioned must be capable of furnishing the material for extensive commerce.

It is a matter of regret that the Liberians have done so little to develop their agricultural wealth. Attention has been chiefly devoted to commercial pursuits. This is accounted for by their contiguity to natives whose wants and trading propensities offer inviting opportunities for barter. Harper's "Gazetteer" asserts that about two millions of inhabitants receive their supplies of goods from Liberia, giving in return palm oil, ivory, camwood, etc." Hence there are many wealthy merchants. That the country is prospering must be admitted, in view of the report that their exports are exceeding their imports. Yet it is unfortunate that a trade, furnished to their hand, has diverted labor from agricultural pursuits. However, it is gratifying to see of late a growing inclination to till the land. This is evident from the comparative price of choice lands. Tracts which, a few years since, could be purchased at two dollars per acre, now cost twenty and some are even valued as high as fifty. At present, sugar seems to be receiving more attention than any other staple. In 1864 the sugar crop on the St. Paul's river amounted to 4,211,200 pounds. One of the planters, Jesse Sharp,



who emigrated in 1852, was in 1859, by a generous loan from H. M. Schefflein, Esq., enabled to purchase a steam sugar mill. He has paid his debt, and last year he sold 70,000 pounds of sugar. The scale on which that article is being cultivated may be inferred from the fact, that several planters now own and employ steam mills. Cotton and coffee are also receiving increased culture. Editors in the Republic are dwelling upon the subject of agriculture in their columns. Legislators are urging its importance in their addresses. If their efforts should succeed in making the people a community of farmers, the result must be a large addition to the quantity of exports.

We have seen that even now, without awaiting the development of the above-mentioned agricultural resources, trade with Western Africa is continually on the increase. Of course, the development of them shall impart an incalculable impulse to commerce. When that transpires, the means and inducements for emigrating shall be multiplied. The frequent receipt of news from Africa, and the oft-recurring departures thither, may produce on our negroes an impression similar to that which has been felt by the operatives of Europe when hearing from the United States, or bidding farewell to embarking friends. Let it be remembered, that the arrivals from Europe on our shores within the last twenty years have exceeded the whole number of the negro population in the United States, and there will be the less inclination to brand as enthusiasm the largest anticipations with regard to colonization in Africa.

It will probably be retarded by ignorance of freedmen respecting the benefits which they and their children would realize. Their blindness is likely to be prolonged by the visionary guides who teach them "to look for their chief good in this country; and in the face of all the repulsions of social inequality, to stand here and fight it out." Yet as such advice is contrary to their real interests, their eyes may be opened to the truth. Their views being changed, the applicants for a passage to the Land of Promise may multiply beyond all precedent.

Time will prove whether these conjectures as to the future are correct. In the meantime, they do not affect the claims of the American Colonization Society to patronage. It is not to be estimated by the contraction or expansion of the work which it may be called to perform. It stands ready to perform all that may be assigned to it by Providence. As an instrumentality judiciously adapted to the times, and to the interests which it was intended to promote, we bid it God-speed.

## ART. X.—SECURITY FOR CAPITAL.

WHAT the country needs now more than anything else is capital. Unable to compete with us for population who offered republican institutions to the emigrant, the leading countries of Europe have contented themselves with outbidding us for capital. Either competition is a noble one: to invite new settlers, or new wealth: because the means which it is necessary to employ, are in their nature beneficial and elevating. No large numbers of men can be persuaded to emigrate to foreign countries, unless the attractions offered to them are of permanent value; and no great amounts of capital can be induced to seek employment away from the countries where it is owned, unless palpable and enduring advantages are held out to it.

Patterson's Darien scheme led a handful of deceived emigrants to colonize the sickly isthmus, there to perish with heat and disease; and Law's Mississippi Bubble sank some large amounts of capital in that ill-founded and deceptive enterprise; but to invite men and money by millions it is necessary to offer those advantages which are only to be found in political freedom and social security.

Ever since the foundation of the United States Government the advantages offered to settlers in this country over those which were to be obtained in other countries, have been so great that the strongest ties of family and fatherland have been overcome, and five millions of European emigrants have been drawn towards our shores. These people have populated the country and made it prosper to an extent that has lifted it to the foremost position among the nations. The advantages held out to them consisted of religious toleration, political equality, universal suffrage, free tenures of land, and the abrogation of the laws of entail and primogeniture. In a word, the feudal system in this country was refused a footing, in so far as it concerned the Rights of Persons.

A time has now come, when this beneficial policy must be carried still farther. The war has destroyed a vast amount of wealth. That which is represented by the United States and by the Confederate debt, added to that which is not included in either, must amount in round figures to 5,000 millions of dollars in value. Towns are destroyed, whole districts laid waste by fire and sword, and a large amount of personal effects are consumed. The country needs capital; and to obtain it she must use the same means which were employed to obtain population. The feudal laws which affect the Rights of Property must be abrogated, and our legislation, in this respect at least, made equal to that of the advanced countries of Europe.

Many of these laws have become so crystalized in men's minds that to advocate their repeal will doubtless create much opposition; nevertheless the unprejudiced mind must perceive in them the cause that keeps European capital from being invested, more freely than it is, in the United States; and once this fact is thoroughly recognised, our people are too practical not to act upon it.

The principal laws of the Feudal system which still prevail in this country are those which interfere with the perfect freedom of trade; but there are others, which although not strictly feudal laws are derived from a condition of affairs created by them. Such are our navigation laws, our laws of liability, of bankruptcy, of usury, etc. These are the obstacles which stand in the way of the accumulation of capital in this country; and the sooner we recognize this fact, the better.

For instance, several hundred millions a year are lost by our people through our tariff laws, which only yield seventy-five millions a year to the Government. Were the tariff abrogated, the people could afford to pay all that it now yields to the government, in some other shape; and yet be largely the gainers by the operation. An article can be manufactured in Europe for one dollar. In the United States the same article cannot be manufactured at a less cost than two dollars. To encourage the manufacture here (a useless object) a tariff is placed upon the importation of the article, of one dollar. Thenceforth the people pay twice as much for this article every time they have occasion to purchase it as before. But who gains by this arrangement? Not the government, for the article is no longer imported. Not the manufacturer, for it costs him two dollars to manufacture it. Therefore nobody gains by it, and every body loses. the tariff is made higher or lower, a careful analysis will lead to the same conclusion.

Next take our navigation laws. These laws prohibit American merchants from purchasing the cheap iron ships of England and hoisting an American ensign on them. What is the result of these laws? These cheap and enduring iron vessels, being able to carry freight cheaper than our expensive and perishable wooden vessels, have completely taken away our foreign trade, a most profitable branch of industry, and given it to England, to France, to Holland, and to the free cities of northern Europe. As to our laws of liability we are outdone by almost every nation in Europe. Laws which limit the liability of stockholders and partners, whether active or sleeping, are common all over northern Europe. Here, in almost all the States, a man is liable to the extent of all he possesses for the solvency of any enterprise to which he may choose to apply his capital. Our bankruptcy laws are equally antiquated; and so is our law of usury, which seeks to limit the rate of interest on loans of money by attaching a penalty of forfeiture to all transactions at a rate of interest exceeding that which happens to be fixed upon.

Further than this, our general administration of the law of contract is bad. The debtor has no security against easily fabricated charges of false pretense; the creditor no security against fraud and the empirical decision of political judges.

Here then is ample room for reform. In all these respects the leading countries of Europe have long since surpassed us, and it is time we shook off our inertia, and looked to our true interests.

The South is a vast garden. Fine table lands for grazing pur-

poses; rich alluvial bottoms for agricultural purposes, sunny hill-sides for the vine and the fruit tree; and plenty of water-power for manufacturing purposes, abound in every direction. Besides this, beneath her soil lie gold and silver, coal, copper, iron and petroleum in abundance. Above all, she possesses a vast line of sea-coast and river navigation; so that not only for agriculture, for mining, for manufactures, but also for commerce, does she possess immense and easily reached natural resources. All that is necessary to develop them is capital; and even with the disadvantages which we labor under from the influences of those feudal laws, which still hold their place on our statute books, the profits to be derived from these pursuits are so great that capitalists would be repaid, after deducting all risks, tenfold what they could by any possibility earn for their wealth, in Europe.

We are glad to know that these facts are already attracting the attention of capitalists. A grand "Crédit Mobilier" intended to be applied to the development of Southern resources, is now being established in Boston, with Governor Andrews of Massachusetts at its head. A similar enterprise is being founded in New York by a leading banking house of the Empire City. Still another, a sort of "Crédit Foncier," is in process of formation in the latter place; and we understand that one of our leading economists is about to start for Europe to attempt a similar organization in London. President Johnson, in one of his bold and free spoken addresses during the past summer, declared himself the friend of the working classes and the enemy of monopolies and restrictions. With such means at work, and with such a sincere and powerful champion of freedom and justice at the head of the Government, the South may indulge in the happiest auguries of her future prosperity. Reforms which, if instituted, will no less benefit the North than the South, New England than Louisiana, are now agitating men's minds, and before long will be carried into practice. A knowledge of the stability of our Government, of its free institutions, so conducive to personal activity and the acquisition of wealth, and of the frugal and industrious character of our people, will soon be, nay is even now being, spread among the capitalists of Europe; and before long cannot fail of attracting to the United States large sums of capital to be employed in the development of her vast natural resources.

Whatever Europe has done for capital, let her remember that she has done very little for person; and that a reckoning day is in store for her, which will render the security of money investments within her borders extremely precarious. As before all things capital demands security, perhaps it may be worth while for Europeans to weigh the respective claims to security for property which are afforded in their own countries and the United States. Let them then add to the balance the almost certain contingency that our present laws will be remodeled at an early date; and we put it to them whether twenty per cent. per annum in the United States on the security of real estate is not something better than four per cent in Europe on similiar security.



## ART. XI.—THE SOUTH : ITS DUTY AND DESTINY.

THE writer of the article which follows is a distinguished Professor in the South Carolina College, and gives expression to the views of the most hopeful class of Southern people. What he says of the West India experiment will receive further elucidation in the next number of the *REVIEW*, when we hope to give a full examination to the recent work of Mr. Sewell, who visited the islands and furnishes an elaborate and favorable exposition of their present condition. —EDITOR.

On the fourth of July 1865, the citizens of Columbia, S. C., were the spectators of a scene most impressive and instructive. A large body of freedmen gathered from the surrounding districts, united with their countrymen in the city to celebrate the day of national festivity. There were not less than twenty thousand present on the occasion; yet no act of violence nor even of incivility was perpetrated. No disturbance occurred. All were sober, sedate and courteous. The cup of freedom had not made them delirious. These sanguinary barbarians, who, according to the theory of fanaticism, had been kept in subjection by the whip and the chain, adjusted themselves to their new relations with a calm dignity which, however subversive of the aforesaid theory, reflects the greatest credit upon their former masters. The institution of slavery had transformed the African savage into the nucleus of the American citizen.

The South is thus vindicated from unmerited calumny. "The past at least is secure"; and the Southern master, thus unexpectedly cited before the world's tribunal, has proved that he has discharged his high trust, by the employment of an institution devolved upon him by the cupidity of the North, on the moral improvement of the class thus committed to his charge. That institution no longer exists. The stern arbitrament of the sword has decreed its extinction, and the South, acquiescing in the inevitable result, has surrendered its trust. A new era has dawned upon it. The relation of labor to capital assumes a different position. By a revolution unexampled in the history of mankind, philanthropic projectors have converted slaves into freemen, without warning or preparation, without that apprenticeship which has been hitherto deemed the appropriate and even necessary transition from bondage to liberty. It remains to be seen how the South will meet this new condition of affairs. Is it adequate to the crisis? To deny this, would be an ungenerous reflection upon its established character for sagacity and energy. A people that converted an inconsiderable foreign plant into the autocrat of the commerce of the civilized world, and made cotton king, defying and distancing all competition in its cultivation; that held at bay for four years the most powerful government on the face of the earth, and succumbed at last only to overwhelming numbers, waging a war of devastation, plunder and rapine, has settled the question of their energy and endurance. Such men even an enemy

might be proud to claim as brethren. They have asserted their high lineage, and proved themselves adequate to any task which Providence may devolve upon them.

The vital question for the South at the present time, is: Can the colored man be profitably employed as a free laborer? Will he work? or is he an exception to the general rule, which determines that when the laborer is remanded to his own interests he will prove most effective? The results of the experiment in the British West Indies would throw great light upon this inquiry. But unfortunately the requisite documents are not at hand. Gen. Sherman, in his devastating occupations and marches, has so effectually done his chosen work, that the private libraries, to which we might repair for information, lie in ashes. We can avail ourselves only of such information as is within our reach; and fortunately we have at hand the "Edinburgh Review," which happens to have escaped their touch and torch.

A writer in that Quarterly for April, 1859, affirms that "the West Indies are rising with great speed to a height of wealth, happiness and comfort unknown before," that "they are swiftly becoming a gem in the British crown, of higher value than they ever were before." The act of emancipation took effect in 1834; the apprenticeship system ceased in 1838. The new system seems to have worked very well until 1847, when a dreadful crash came, brought about mainly by a vast fall in the price of sugar. Free trade exposed the planters to the competition of Brazil and Cuba, whilst the protective measures of France and Belgium and other continental countries in favor of their beet sugar excluded cane sugar from their markets, and caused a surplus in England, so that, although the produce of the Islands continued to increase, the profits were as steadily diminishing, and the planters, crippled by the debts which they had brought with them out of slavery, were crushed and ruined. But from these disasters the Islands have gradually recovered; and the writer affirms that "official statistics and reports absolutely demonstrate that the West Indies are rapidly advancing in wealth and prosperity, with a corresponding advance in the general character of the people."

The South enters upon its new career under circumstances strikingly different, and far more advantageous, than those which attended the experiment in the West Indies. Our colored population is far superior in intellect and morals. The plantations in those islands were managed principally by agents, the proprietors residing in England; and there was little intercourse between the whites and the blacks. The latter remained in ignorance and barbarism. Our people have been civilized and christianized. They are intelligent, have been trained to habits of industry, and can appreciate the importance of regular and well-directed labor. Moreover, we have the advantage of climate. Those tropical regions enabled the negro to live upon the spontaneous productions of the soil, and hence tempted him to sloth. But, in our climate, work is indispensable to

existence. The negro must labor or starve. Hence the proprietor of land can present a controlling motive to overcome the native sluggishness of the African. Again, the British Government committed the fatal mistake of allowing the emancipated negroes to become owners of the soil. The wild lands were occupied by the freedmen; and cuffie settled down upon them in easy indolence, content to live upon pumpkins and whatever a bounteous nature might lavish at his feet. But here, the white man is the proprietor of the land. Cuffie must work for him, or try the experiment of living without work, with the privilege of starving. He is free to starve if he pleases. But even the negro can understand that starvation is not the most desirable privilege of freedom, and his own sad experience will impress him with the importance of working for a living.

We are, we confess, deeply solicitous that a fair experiment shall be made with the free colored population. The South has already proved itself their greatest benefactor, by rescuing them from barbarism and heathenism and blessing them with the light of a pure christianity. It now remains to complete the great work by elevating them to the status of intelligent, industrious and effective hirelings. Let us not shrink from this arduous, but benevolent, enterprise. The negro is indeed ignorant, and he has been perverted and demoralized by fanatical teachers; but the instincts of humanity are yet vital in him; and the kindly remembrance of former and brighter days will concur with a regard for his own interest to attach him to his former master. Prudence, forbearance and a tender indulgence of his infirmities may yet protect him against the insidious influences which are employed to make him regard his former master as his enemy, and may revive those earlier associations of love and duty, which once made him contented with his humble lot.

The primary condition of success with the Southern planter consists in a full appreciation of the altered relation of the negro laborer and a corresponding change of treatment. In this respect, the West India planters blundered most sadly. The managers of estates (for the proprietors were mostly absentees), forgetting that the negro was no longer a bondman, carried into their new sphere the habits of thought and action to which they had been accustomed, but of which the freedmen was very naturally most impatient, and attempted to subject the latter to a system of discipline which the laws had made obsolete. Distrust and alienation were the inevitable consequence. The laborer in disgust abandoned his old home, and set up for himself. It is not without some degree of truth that a writer in the "Westminster Review," February, 1853, asserts, "The diminution of labor was the direct and immediate consequence of the mismanagement of the planters."

Southern planters, it is to be hoped, will avoid this error. Our colored people are possessed, we believe, of the most kindly feelings towards their late owners. Many of them have declined to accept

the proffered boon of freedom; all, with perhaps the exception of the few who have been corrupted by those who left their masters and took up arms against them in the late struggle, wish and hope to live among us quietly and orderly. The negro is by nature submissive and peaceable. He has no propensity to acts of violence and blood. Intemperance is not among his crimes. His chief faults are falsehood and theft; and these were the incidents of his servile condition, just as gaming, gallantry, the pleasures of the table and extravagant display in dress and equipage are the products of a higher stage of civilization. Possessing within himself the constituents of an effective laborer, he may be transmuted by judicious and painstaking efforts into a valuable coadjutor in the new career of progress upon which the South has entered.

One striking peculiarity of his character is his strong local attachment, his love of home and its surroundings. The Southern planter may avail himself of this element of his nature, and turn it to beneficial uses both for himself and his dependent. The negro's original attachment to the homestead may be confirmed and invigorated by kind and courteous treatment, by affectionate interest in his family and regard for his welfare. He may thus be made a permanent fixture of the plantation; and our patriarchal institution may be replaced by one combining all its advantages with none of its evils. Slavery is an abnormal and, as the history of the world has proved, a deciduous institution. Whether this is the growth of man's virtues or his vices we stop not to inquire. We accept the fact. But the relation of master and servant is natural and unalterable. Our former system may be replaced by one such as that which exists in England, where the playmate of childhood becomes the confidential agent of later years, resides at the old homestead, and dying leaves his children's children in the service of his original employer, and attached to their native spot by all the sweet and gentle associations of home, kindred and friends. Such a system of hereditary employment, of transmission of duties and affections from parents to children, is the fairest school of human nature. It is the nursery of all that is noblest, and dearest, and best in our social relations, and far transcends the miserable scheme of mercenary and transient service which pervades the domestic economy of the North.

We are, as we have said, anxious that a fair experiment should be made with the colored people. We are hopeful, even confident, in regard to its issue. But should the experiment fail, there exists no ground for despondency in reference to our future. Our broad lands and fertile fields will invite foreign emigration. The young, the vigorous, and the enterprising will come among us to seek their fortunes; and the indomitable Anglo-Saxon spirit will in the end triumph over all obstacles. We have said nothing of the aid which we may derive from the influences of Christianity in subsidizing the colored labor of the South. We hope to discuss that subject in another article. The religion of the negro is *sui generis*, and demands the careful scrutiny of the philosopher.



But we must stop. The conclusion of the whole matter is this: We call upon the people of the South to be manly, enterprising, hopeful. Their fortitude in adversity is even more admirable than their gallantry in the field. They are capable of great things, and may achieve a high destiny. Let them turn away from the dead past, and look at the living future. "Men are sometimes masters of their fates;" and the critical period has arrived in which they are summoned to enter upon a new career of unexampled prosperity, happiness, and virtue. Adversity is a stern school, but it is the gymnasium of great souls; and the awful calamities which have befallen the South may prove in the end to have been only the discipline of Providence to purify and consolidate its character, and to make it, as hitherto the ornament, so now and hereafter, the support of a great nation.

#### ART. XII.—THE USES AND MORALITY OF WAR AND PEACE.

THE article which follows is from the pen of one of our oldest contributors; and although we have often differed from him, the originality of his views has been universally admitted, and his power as a writer has never been questioned. Whilst giving full weight to what are recognized as the "horrors of war," and of which the people of many of our States have had a fearful example recently before them, we are not unwilling to admit, with Mr. Fitzbush, that it has its compensations, even as Shakespeare has expressed it:

"Sweet are the uses of adversity,  
Which, like the toad—ugly and venomous—  
Hath yet a precious jewel in his head."—EDITOR.

ALMOST all men are prone to believe that wars are unmitigated evils, and many look forward with hope and expectation to a millennial state of society, in which there shall be no wars, no strife, no discord, no jealousies, no rivalries, and wherein all men shall love, aid, and assist each other. If the absence of national and foreign wars could beget intestine peace, could banish rivalries, competitions and hatreds among neighbors, could beget universal love and concord, then eternal peace would be the *summum bonum* of human existence. But such millennial beatitude is a utopian chimera which man is doomed ever to pursue, and never to overtake.

National peace begets intestine war—makes men love money, greedy of gain, selfish, low-minded, effeminate, and sensual. The universal pursuit of wealth begets fierce and angry competitions, and sets each man at war with his neighbor—for no man ever did acquire wealth, or ever expected to acquire it, by the labor of his own hands. No man in pursuit of wealth expects, or is willing to exchange the results of his own labor for an equal amount of the results of other people's labor. All men, in times of peace, try to acquire wealth by the profits of capital, which does not labor at all, which is a non-producer, which taxes or *exploitates* labor, but does not pay or compensate it; or are trying to grow rich by professional

or mechanical skill, or by sharpness in trade, or in some way to get a great deal of the results of other people's labor, for a very little, or none of their own. Peace begets universal war, of the worst exploitation; or, in plain English, cheating.

When nations, communities, sects, or individuals, resolve never to fight, and persevere in practising their resolves, they take to cheating, and become thoroughly contemptible, selfish, and sensual—lose their intellectual and moral natures, assimilate themselves to the lowest order of the brute creation, and grow fat and lazy, like well-fed pigs. All history shows that over-pacific individuals, sects, and nations become knavish, cowardly, mean, and contemptible, depraved in morals and in intellect, and, finally, the easy prey of more warlike, virtuous, and intelligent peoples. Sodom and Gomorrah, with all their crimes and sensuality, were but the legitimate outgrowths of peace long continued. "The canker of a calm world and a long peace."

American character, North and South, had suffered much from long-continued peace. Not so much at the South as at the North, because we were not, in theory or practice, non-resistants—yet we all worshiped alike the "almighty dollar," all were engaged in the mean pursuit of gain, and thought of little else than sensual enjoyment, of "hog and hominy." All education was directed to money making, and we had the best-fed bodies and the worst-fed minds of any people in Christendom. The war has purified and elevated our natures, taught us to respect ourselves, and has won for us the respect of foreign nations.

We have not been able to discover the morality of peace, or what single virtue it begets or cherishes. Yet peace has its uses; if none other, than it is needed to repair the damages of war.

Peace and war are antinomies, whose due alternation preserves the health and well-being, and promotes the growth, progress and improvement of society. War draws men closer together, makes them dependent on each other, allays domestic strife and competition, in a great measure equalizes conditions, banishes selfishness, and makes men live, labor and fight for each other; and continually seeing and feeling their mutual inter-dependence, it begets brotherly love.

Patriotism itself, the noblest of human virtues, is not love of the soil of our country, but love for our fellow-citizens. This virtue is dormant and almost extinguished in time of peace, but bursts forth with beautiful light and intensity in time of war. There are more generous, liberal and charitable actions performed in one day of war than in a year of peace. Men then obey the scriptural injunction, and love their neighbors as themselves. And woman, noble woman, throws aside all her little vanities and frivolities, and devotes her means, her time and her labor to the relief of the sick, the wounded and the needy. The rich no longer hold themselves aloof from the poor, for they feel the need of the poor, who are battling side by side with them for the rights, liberty and independence of all. The poor no longer envy and hate the rich, for they see the wealth of the

rich sustaining the war, and, when needed, supplying the wants of all, either by voluntarily imposed taxation, or by the liberal hand of private charity. It is a season of almost universal love and brotherhood. A few cold-hearted speculators and extortioners prey upon the wants and necessities of their fellowmen, but their number is much less than is generally supposed. Thoughtless people charge our merchants with extortion, but on investigation it will be found that they pay high prices for their goods, and sell them at reasonable profits.

In all ages and in all countries war has been considered the most honorable pursuit. Virtue and valor were expressed by the same word among the Romans. So long as they were virtuous and prosperous they were always at war. They and all other nations, who have been most distinguished in war, have succeeded best in cultivating the arts of peace. The Romans were more remarkable for justice, clemency, piety, morality and general enlightenment than any of the profane nations of antiquity. They originated the first great system of jurisprudence, which is still the groundwork of the laws of most civilized nations. We find in the Old Testament that great warriors were the favorites of God, and that wars were often ordained and commanded by him. The subject is exhaustless; but our object will be answered if we have shown that peace and war are antinomes or opposing concurrent forces, whose opposition and alternation are necessary parts of the economy of the moral world.

### ART. XIII.—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF PAPER CURRENCY.

INVENTION OF PAPER MONEY — FRENCH EXPERIENCE — JOHN LAW —  
ENGLISH EXPERIMENTS — COLONIAL — RUSSIAN — CONFEDERATE  
STATES—OUR NATIONAL CURRENCY.

THIS article, which has been for sometime upon our table, has been amended in a few particulars by the author, and slightly enlarged. It is an interesting discussion of the paper money question from the pen of one of the leading literary and practical men of the South; the author of the "History of Louisiana," and other valuable works.—EDITOR.

IN the latter months of the year 1863, only two years after the beginning of the great struggle which has lately terminated, and long before there was any doubt, in the Southern Confederacy, of its final success, its paper currency had depreciated to an extent which made it almost valueless. This was looked upon as the natural and inevitable consequence of its excessive redundancy, but that redundancy was not the only reason of its depreciation, because it would have depreciated without it, although to a much less degree. We believe it may be laid down as an almost settled axiom, without much fear of any successful refutation, that depreciation is of the very essence of paper money, whether it exceeds or not the wants of the community where it is current—that its over-issue only accelerates, or

increases the depreciation—and that the depreciation becomes still more rapid and fatal when that paper, either by the action of Government, or from the no less powerful dictates of circumstances, becomes a *forced currency*.

Before proceeding further, let us, on the threshold of this disquisition, determine what we are to understand, strictly speaking, by paper currency. We wish it therefore to be kept in mind, that we mean by paper currency all notes or obligations which are intended as a substitute for coin, and which are not redeemable on presentation in metallic currency, to the full amount of the promise to pay contained in those notes or obligations. Otherwise—that is, when it can be converted at will into gold or silver, or is believed to be thus convertible—it does not circulate as paper currency, but merely as the convenient and useful representative of metallic currency, over which it possesses a decided advantage for transportation and for other purposes of trade ; and so long as this is the case it does not depreciate.

Although paper currency is a modern invention, the teachings of history in relation to its effects are sufficiently numerous and sufficiently instructive, if not to cause it to be altogether rejected by the rulers of nations, at least to inform them how to guard, as much as possible, against its evils, when it is once resorted to, if man could be kept from the commission of well-known errors by the warning examples of his predecessors.

We believe that we are correct in asserting that paper currency is an invention of the eighteenth century, and that all those nations which, since its invention, have had recourse to that fatal panacea, did not, in the end, have any reason to congratulate themselves upon the experiment. The temptation, however, to create in pressing exigencies, by so simple an operation as that of a printing press, an abundance of fictitious wealth in substitution of the precious metals, is too overpowering to be resisted by modern statesmen. The only hope is that it is a resource which will be rarely used, on account of its dangerous consequences, and that when used, it shall be with the necessary precautions ; although from the knowledge of the past, and the spectacle offered by the present, we are not justified in expecting much from the future. Great national wars have generally been the pretext for the emission of paper currency on a large scale, as a matter of course ; and so much so, that in such contingencies it seems to be the first measure which, from its seductive facility, presents itself to the mind. It ought not, however, to be forgotten that the seven years' war of single-handed Prussia, under Frederic the Great, against the combined forces of France, Austria and Russia, in the last century, is a magnificent proof that a long struggle for national existence can be successfully maintained without having recourse to paper currency. It is true that, as Macaulay says, "The King carried on war as no European power has carried on war, except the Committee of Public Safety during the great agony of the French Revolution." Prussia, which had been devastated in



every one of its provinces by uncivilized hordes of Croatsians, Cossacks, and other barbarians, had been converted almost into a howling wilderness; but, adds the historian: "One consolatory circumstance, indeed, there was; no debt had been incurred. The burdens of war had been terrible, almost insupportable; but no arrear was left to embarrass the finances." We all know how soon Prussia, free from debt, recovered from so many wounds which seemed mortal, and how those meagre domains which so recently enjoyed no prouder name than that of *Marquisate of Brandenburg*, assumed an importance and a rank equal to those of the most powerful kingdoms of Europe. We admit, however, that such an example is not easy of imitation, although it shows for the instruction of the world what the genius of one man and the endurance of a nation can accomplish without "*issuing bonds*," and without manufacturing a paper currency, which inevitably leads to demoralization, repudiation, bankruptcy, and national disgrace.

We have said that the genealogy of paper currency can hardly be traced up further back than the beginning of the eighteenth century. For the first time, we believe, in 1702, a paper money was created in France, which was to be withdrawn on the 1st of April, 1705, bearing in the meanwhile the enormous interest of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum. It was received by the public with great favor, and circulated at par. But on the 1st of April, 1705, the paper could not be redeemed, as promised, and in order to induce the holders to consent to its renewal without too importunate clamors of discontent, the Government added 2 per cent. to the original interest, making  $9\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Notwithstanding this encouragement, this tempting bait—notwithstanding this sop thrown to the fears of the multitude, the currency lost in a few days as much as 75 per cent. In 1706, by a decree of the Government, it was made a legal tender, and thus became a *forced currency*, under the penalty of pillory, exile, and a fine of three thousand livres. But, strange as it may appear to those among us who favor measures of this description, from that moment the currency became valueless, so much so, that the Government paid one-fourth of it in coin, on condition that the rest should be converted into treasury notes—which conversion was followed by other conversions, until at last the Government emitted notes bearing an interest of 20 per cent., but without succeeding in stopping the increasing depreciation of every paper currency that was issued in rapid succession. Merchants asked their customers in what currency the goods desired were to be paid for, and had one price for those who offered to pay in gold or silver, and another price for those who tendered paper; and frequently to those of this latter denomination they pretended that they had no goods at all on hand. The peasantry of France refused also to take it, as many of the Southern farmers refused to take Confederate currency. A maximum rate having been decreed, at which the French peasants were compelled to sell the produce of their labors, many ceased to work their lands. This circumstance, combined with the effects of an unusually

rigorous winter, produced such a famine in 1709, that, even in Paris, only coarse brown bread was used for several months; that in the very palace of Versailles, the seat of so much splendor, several families fed on bread made of oatmeal, and that the celebrated Madam de Maintenon, the avowed confidential friend and the secret spouse of one of the most magnificent monarchs of the world, gave the example of abstemious frugality by partaking of this rude diet. The price of wheat flour had gone up to 120 livres the sack, but the Government having found out the means of reducing the amount of the paper currency afloat, flour suddenly fell down to 40 livres. It would be profitable and instructive to examine separately and in detail the curious devices to which financiering ingenuity resorted in those days, but this could not be done here without exceeding the bounds which we have prescribed to this article.

Soon after, under the regency of the Duke of Orleans, followed the introduction of the famous scheme, invented by John Law, to absorb the paper currency which had been emitted with so little success in the preceding reign, to relieve the other necessities of the State and supply the scarcity of the precious metals. That wonderfully skillful adventurer had first attempted to try his great financial experiment in Holland, but had found an insurmountable obstacle in the cold phlegmatic temperament of the Dutch, whom he could not dazzle into the adoption of his magical discovery of assimilating paper to gold and silver. Then, in 1705, he had, under the patronage of some of the highest magnates of Scotland, whom the plausibility of his plans had fascinated, presented to the Parliament of that kingdom a scheme for removing the difficulties resulting from the scarcity of coin and from the stoppage of payments by its national bank; and in illustration of his views on that subject, he gave publicity to a work entitled: "Money and trade considered, with a proposal to supply the nation with money." What could be more tempting?

The proposal of Law was that commissioners, appointed in the manner provided for by Parliament, and remaining under the control of that body, should be empowered to issue notes, either in the way of loan at ordinary interest upon land mortgages, provided the loan should not exceed half, or at most two-thirds of the value of the land; or upon land pledges redeemable within a certain period of time, to the full value of the land; or, lastly, upon sale, irredeemably, to the amount of the price agreed upon. The most timid, as he conceived, could not object to this kind of paper money on the ground of its being deficient in safe guarantees, and he maintained that it would constitute a currency equal in value to gold and silver coin, to which it might even be preferred for reasons which he enumerated in his work. Thus a piece of land would not only be a farm answering all the purposes for which it was originally destined, but also, according to its value, so much capital thrown into circulation. The wealth of the kingdom would evidently be doubled, argued Law, and an incalculable impulse given to industry and en-

terprise of every sort. By this ingenious operation a double source of profit was to be secured to Scotland, the one proceeding from the agricultural produce of her soil, and the other from the employment of so much capital as that soil represented. But this scheme, though presented to a needy public in a glowing style, and with arguments elaborate with exquisite art, and though powerfully supported by the court party, and by the influence of such men as the Duke of Argyle and others of high, social position, was rejected by the Parliament on the ground that, "to establish any kind of paper credit, so as to oblige it to pass as currency, was an improper expedient for the nation." This conclusion was worthy of the proverbial sagacity, prudence and integrity of the Scottish people. That a government should change its metallic currency into printed notes or promises to pay, and compel its citizens, who had loaned certain sums in gold and silver, to receive in reimbursement, the same amount in depreciated or worthless paper money, may, not without some appearance of reason, have appeared, to the Puritanic but brave and loyal descendants of Wallace and Bruce, a somewhat doubtful question of morality and policy. They also apprehended that if Law's plan were adopted, all the real estate in the kingdom would thereby be brought to a complete dependence upon the bank proposed by him, and collaterally upon the Government, as the bank itself was dependent on the Government.

It is useless to add that the wisdom of England and her knowledge of the laws of trade and the exigencies of public credit prevented her from listening to the proposals of Law. But, nothing abashed by these repulses, Law, after the fashion of Columbus searching for a sovereign into whose lap he should be permitted to shower the treasures of America, wandered about in quest of some Power who would accept the El Dorado which teemed in his brains. In his peregrinations he repaired to the Court of Turin, and addressed the reigning prince, Victor Amadeus, on the financial conceptions which he thought had been so unwisely rejected: but that prudent sovereign shrewdly and quaintly answered, "I am not rich enough to afford being ruined."

This short historical sketch shows the instinctive aversion entertained in Europe for paper currency, when it made its first appearance at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is evident that the dangers of such an innovation were as apparent then as they are now, although not actually demonstrated by experience as they have been since. It was impossible to be oblivious of the fact that, for ages, great nations had existed, with great military and commercial wants, as great comparatively as in modern times, and that they had met those wants without any paper currency, or anything like it. Why depart from the line of safe precedents? said the enemies of the new system. Coins, it must be admitted, had frequently been debased by governments as a momentary resource, but always with fatal effects; and the policy of paper money was certainly, they thought, as questionable as that of adulterating coin

for temporary purposes. It is possible, however, that paper currency might have been distinguished as an earlier invention if the press had been sooner known, or if, shortly after it was known, it had worked with as much marvelous rapidity as in our days.

It was at a time when the wise heads of France could not see their way through the embarrassments of the national treasury, that John Law came forward with his panacea, which was to liquidate the debt of the State, to increase its revenue, and at the same time *diminish taxation*. All these prodigies were to be suddenly produced by the easiest process in the world—the creation of a paper currency—which, representing all the commercial, agricultural and other sources of the kingdom pledged to its ultimate redemption, would add another currency to the one already existing—another currency equally as good and solid as that metallic currency which was no longer adequate to the increasing wants of the nation. The Regent, who was incessantly craving for money, and who had an imagination naturally and easily captivated by specious schemes and attractive novelties, eagerly jumped at the conclusions of Law, and granted him all the required facilities to carry into practical operation his new system of finances. With wonderful celerity the adventurer soon created the most stupendous financial fabric ever presented to the world! All the national property and all the revenues whatever of one of the most powerful kingdoms of Europe, and the profits to be derived from extraordinary monopolies and from other sources which it is useless to enumerate, were wedged together into a unit, and that unit made responsible for the security of the new circulating medium to be introduced into that country! Could any currency be better than that which rested on such foundations? exclaimed the advocates of Law. And yet what were the results? The year 1720 saw his financial system expanding like a gigantic mushroom, embellished with hues as bright and dazzling as might emanate from a huge mountain of pure and solid gold, under the rays of a tropical sun. But we all know that in one day, as it were, it withered away, leaving desolation brooding on ruin, where before all was hope and joy.

Then happened what has but too frequently been seen since: the superabundance of paper money produced a great scarcity of coin. It became evident to the most obtuse, or to the most sanguine, that this prolific paper currency had not a sufficient representative for its redemption, and that before long it would be no more cared for than worthless rags. As soon as that discovery was made; as soon as it was ascertained that *public credit* was dead, and that the vast paper currency was nothing but a fit shroud for its corpse, every one hastened to convert the notes he had into gold or silver, and to realize the fortune he had acquired by stock jobbing or speculation. We see the same process now going on among us. The most keen sighted, or the most prudent, not only exchanged their notes for specie, but sent it out of France, as speculators lately did in the Confederate States, and it is calculated that in this way the kingdom was drained of five hundred millions of livres!



To avert the danger, the Government, in less than eight months promulgated thirty-three edicts to tax the value of gold and silver, to preserve and to increase the metallic currency, and to limit the amount of gold and silver which might be converted into plate and jewelry. No payment in specie could be made except for small sums—that is to say: paper became a legal tender and discharged debts—exactly what our legislators have thought would be a remedy to the depreciation of our own paper. Nay, more—the standard of coin was purposely, by royal decrees, kept in the most bewildering state of fluctuation, while the value of the notes was decreed to be invariable. It was expected that, the value of gold and silver coin being thus made so uncertain, there would be a strong inducement to convert them into notes bearing interest and decreed invariable in their value. But this expectation was not realized. The next contrivance was to make rents, taxes and custom-house duties payable only in paper; but this failed again to answer the purpose. As a climax to these high-handed measures, individuals, as well as secular and religious communities, were prohibited under very severe penalties from having in their possession more than five hundred livres—in specie, or about \$100. This royal ordinance established the most intolerable inquisition, and gave rise to the most vexatious researches on the part of the police. The house of no citizen was free from the visits of the agents of power; every man trembled to see denunciation lurking by his fireside, and to harbor treachery by the very altars of his household gods. But this also failed.

The depreciation of the paper currency continued to be so rapid, and the alarm of the public became such, that it was thought necessary at least to reduce considerably the disproportion between the coin supposed to be in the kingdom and what we shall call, for a better understanding of the case, the treasury notes of the Government. Thus, on the 21st of May, 1720, an edict was issued, which, in violation of the pledge of the State and the most solemn stipulations, and as a beginning of bankruptcy, cut down to one-half the whole paper currency—a measure which was advocated in the late Southern Confederacy, to *make good* the rest of their notes. The holders of the notes, it was said, would have no legitimate right to complain, since their one-half would be equal in value to the whole, and since they would purchase all they needed for half of the price which they were paying. Besides, it was better to lose one-half than the whole. Such compromises constantly took place in ordinary transactions between individuals; and after all, it had become a matter of necessity, to save the Government. Such was the self-deceiving logic of ignorance; such was the flimsy sophistry of dishonesty. What was the consequence? It was instantaneous and overwhelming. At once all confidence was lost in the notes, general consternation prevailed, and no one would have given twenty cents in hard coin for millions of the paper currency, which was suddenly reduced to zero by that very measure which was intended to save it.

Any one studying the financial part of the history of the regency

of the Duke of Orleans, would cease to tax his brains in the vain hope to discover anything new to bolster up a decaying paper currency; he must content himself to imitate, in consequence of not being able to invent. But is it not reasonable to suppose that, as the original conceptions which he would borrow, backed as they were by despotic power, proved invariably abortive, his imitation, however ingenious, would not be more successful?

Hardly more than one-half of a century had elapsed since the memorable explosion of this financial experiment, when France returned to the same expedient with the same imprudent confidence as before, and in her hours of distress took again to her lips the same poisonous cup which had been once so fatal to her national honor and prosperity. It was at the beginning of the mighty revolution which was to bring to the scaffold her time-honored monarchy and convulse Europe, that the introduction of paper money was vehemently advocated on that most convenient and most unanswerable of all pleas—the plea of necessity. Reasons were given with all the charms of eloquence why the system of Law had been disastrous, and why the new one could not fail of success. The errors of the past would serve only as beacons to guide, and not to mislead; the age had become more enlightened, and an improved machinery could accomplish what it had not done in its original state of imperfection. What capitalist had, in his private business, ever refused to take a promissory note when guaranteed to his satisfaction? and had not France better guaranties to give than individuals! Who could object, for instance, to take the treasury notes of France, which should be exchangeable at will, and without delay, for fertile fields, productive forests, rich mines of all kinds, splendid palaces, multitudinous residences in cities, towns and villages, or in the country, all registered in a book open to inspection, and to be procured on a ratio of appraisement falling much below their real value! Were not, in addition, all the resources and the chivalrous faith of France pledged for the redemption of those notes? Such was the basis on which the famous *assignats* were issued. The subject was thoroughly discussed and exhausted by the highest intellects of France, by such men as Mirabeau, l'Abbé Maury, Talleyrand, and a host of other distinguished personages of great merit, although of less fame. Nothing can be added to their luminous expositions of the advantages, or disadvantages, of paper currency, and of the means to be employed to make it an engine of production, if possible, and not of destruction. Mirabeau, who had always been opposed to such financial operations, pretended to have changed his views, and advocated the *assignats* on the ground of the novel and undoubted security which they offered to the public, and, as a last resort, invoked the *plea of necessity*, as it usually happens when it is desired to justify the unjustifiable. On the other side, Talleyrand and the celebrated Abbé Maury predicted that the remedy would turn out to be a noxious drug, by which the patient would be killed. Posterity now knows that they were right.

But it was said to them, as it is said on all occasions when the emission of paper money is opposed: granting that your objections are correct, what substitute do you offer? I will quote l'Abbé Maury's answer, in substance, if not in the very words he used: "I have," he said, "demonstrated to you beyond refutation, that paper money is a hyena that will devour us all. This is a sufficient reason for not admitting the wild beast among you. Only declare by a recorded vote that you reject, now and forever, the idea of having recourse to paper money, and there will be no lack of men who will come out with financial plans that will be sufficient to the wants of France. I, for one, have on hand one of those plans. But what will be the use of offering to you hard-fisted measures which will task your honesty, your patriotism and your powers of endurance, when you are determined to yield to the blandishments of paper money, and to take the road to perdition, because, at its entrance, it is smooth and easy, whilst that to salvation is rugged and toilsome?" Such language and such vaticinations were not listened to, and the printing presses of the French Government soon became, in the manufacturing of paper money, as active and prolific as those of the two parties engaged in the tremendous war through which we have lately passed. We all know what was the fate of the assignats.

If there ever was a paper money which should have answered its purposes without depreciation, it is that which was introduced in Pennsylvania in 1720, with such precautions and guaranties as ought to have dissipated the alarms of the most timid. The commerce of Philadelphia was then suffering greatly from the want of specie, or of a proper medium of exchange, and paper money was resorted to within very limited bounds—the issue never exceeding sixty-seven thousand pounds. The Provincial Government became the lender of that money. Nobody could borrow of it more than one hundred pounds, nor could obtain it without a mortgage on real estate worth double the value of the sum borrowed, excluding from the estimate the value of the buildings. The borrower was to pay the interest under the penalty of eviction. The capital was to be reimbursed in seven equal installments; and on the return of the paper into the Provincial treasury it was to be burned. In addition to these securities resting on the private wealth of individuals, all the resources of the Province were pledged for the redemption of the paper. Could there be any better guaranties? At first the system worked very well; but in a short time the change between Philadelphia and London, which was at one hundred and thirty-three when the paper was emitted, rose gradually to one hundred and eighty. The paper itself went on depreciating to sixty per cent., until it was converted into Continental money in 1778. A glance at Baneroff's History of the United States, page 380, vol. iii., will show the fate of every other colonial paper. As to Continental money we shall say nothing, its history being but too well known.

Russia had also a paper currency about the same time, and in 1790 that paper was losing thirty-three per cent. in St. Petersburg,

and much more in the provinces. In fact, as we have already said in the beginning of this article, there never was in any country, except with one trifling exception, a paper money which did not depreciate considerably. Bank notes, when they circulate at par, cannot be classed among paper currencies; they are the mere representatives of the gold and silver which can be had for them on presentation. But we know what becomes of them as soon as they cease to be the representatives of the precious metals, or as soon as there are any apprehensions on the subject. Even the notes of the Bank of England, the strongest institution of the kind in the world, and to which the very strength and life of the Government of Great Britain has been imparted, never failed to depreciate whenever it suspended specie payment, although done at the request of the Government, for national and patriotic purposes. In 1814, those notes were losing twenty-five per cent., and there is no telling what would have been their further depreciation, if a coalition of the whole of Europe against Napoleon had not restored to England the peace which she so much needed.

The only paper currency which did not depreciate, and to which we have already alluded, is that which was guaranteed by deposits of tobacco in public warehouses in Virginia and Maryland. There is certainly something very suggestive in the fact that it was the only paper currency which did not suffer from depreciation. The reason is obvious. It was because tobacco was then tantamount to gold. Thus it is probable that if the present currency of the United States, or greenbacks, was guaranteed by deposits of cotton equal to the whole circulation, it would not now be suffering a depreciation of forty-four per cent., which threatens every day to become greater, notwithstanding the efforts of the Government.

From the premises and the facts laid down in the preceding pages flows the inevitable deduction that the Confederate States and the United States adopted in their late struggle a fatal mode of relief. But it is too late to discuss whether something better might have been done. All that remains for us to do is to repair the mischief produced by our imprudence and passions; and in our efforts let us never lose sight of these axiomatic truths: that paper currency is always bad; that it is worse when it becomes superabundant; and that when it assumes such proportions as to reasonably preclude the possibility of its final redemption in specie, it cannot be prevented from becoming worthless by the devices of any legislative ingenuity. We can hope for safety only by returning, as soon as possible, to the broad and honest specie basis, which has always been advocated by the Democratic party, and upon which no scaffolding of fraud, corruption, demoralization and bankruptcy can be built.

The paper money of the United States is still in existence, and therefore its history remains to be written; but we may legitimately, however, make some observations on its origin. The Constitution says: "Congress shall have power to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin." According to all English dic-



tionaries, *to coin money* means to mint or stamp metals for money, and *money* means metals coined for the purposes of commerce, and the value of which is ascertained by the stamp. By virtue of this article, the currency of the United States, since the formation of their Government, had been a metallic currency until recently. But lately the words: *to coin money*, have been interpreted by the dominant party in the United States, to mean the power to emit, instead of a silver dollar, a piece of paper with this phrase: "We, the United States of America, promise to pay to bearer one dollar," at a time remaining indefinite, and to declare that the one is the substitute of the other. If *coined money* signifies a greenback, then it follows that *foreign coin* signifies also a promissory note, and that Congress has the power to regulate the value of foreign paper currency, and determine at what rate we shall receive it. But it was not enough for the Government to decree that a piece of paper was a piece of coin, it was necessary to compel the people to accept it as such. Hence it was made a legal tender, and a wide door opened to fraud, corruption, violation of contracts, and general demoralization and ruin. It may have been a *matter of necessity*, but it can hardly be denied that it is urgent for us to return to the favorite currency of Democracy—gold and silver, and to a strict interpretation of the Constitution, after the doctrine of the school established by Jefferson.

It is reported of Cardinal Richelieu that he said, "Give me any two lines written by a man, and they will be sufficient to hang him." Had he lived in our days, he would probably have said, "Give me any two lines of the Constitution of the United States, and they will afford me sufficient authority to assume every dictatorial power which I need." The Black Republican party is composed of constructionists after the fashion of Richelieu. We hope that it is not disloyal or illegal to wish that we may soon get rid of them and of paper money.

#### ART. XIV.—OPENING OF NEW FIELDS TO IMMIGRATION.

THE question has been put to me "What is the best plan to draw the attention of the German Emigrants to the advantages which the South offers to settlers?" In answer I say, that the Southern States should, as soon as possible, publish a detailed and faithful account of their various resources, of the weather and its influence on the constitution of men coming from a northern latitude, of the lands and their present condition as to their fertility and titles, of the various products which can be raised thereon, of the best localities for vine culture, and for fruit in general, and an account of the existing railroads and canals, and also of commerce and the various branches of industry to be carried on; in short, of every thing which interests a settler.

These publications must be in the German language, and be gratuitously distributed abroad by agents, by our Consuls, and through the channel of Emigration Societies.

There exists no country in the world where there has been so much published on the United States as in Germany. Every educated emigrant has written something about this country, and the publication of letters from settlers is still continued, besides the private correspondence in which every settler describes minutely the country he lives in. These letters are read with interest in villages

and towns; and do more, in fact, to encourage emigration than all the efforts of governments or societies combined. When you travel along the Rhine, the Main, the Neckar, etc., you scarcely meet a person who has not a relation or friend in America, and they are all familiar with the Eastern and Western States, but less with the South, for the reason that few Germans reside South, on account of that once existing barrier to free labor—slavery.

The barrier of slavery being now removed, I see no difficulty whatever why the current of emigration cannot be turned into the Southern channel. When once a certain nucleus of German emigrants has been established, they themselves will do their best to get their parents, relations and friends to join them.

It must not be overlooked that the Germans leave their country not merely to find work as day laborers; they all aim to become landowners, and that chance must be very *conspicuously pointed out to them*, or they continue the beaten track westward, where there are millions and millions of acres of fertile virgin land, which they can get gratuitously, if they become actual settlers, according to the Homestead Law. They prefer the West on account of the climate, which suits best the German constitution, and where they meet thousands and thousands of their countrymen, in compact settlements; where their language is spoken, and where they find, in fact, a second Germany. The German emigrant despises everything in the shape of aristocracy; he loves, like a regular Teuton of old, equality and freedom, and never changes his mode of living, thinking, or worshipping; he remains German, and thinks that liberty consists in not interfering with his habits and manners; otherwise, he is law-abiding, steady, industrious, economical, and understands his trade well. The Germans love the soil. They have learned to cultivate it properly and keep it in heart, and where they establish themselves fine farms spring up, and make States rich. We have abundant examples on hand; look at Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, etc. Those States are not only comparatively densely populated, but highly cultivated and prosperous. The Germans are not only farmers, they are also good mechanics; and have furnished this country a considerable quota of all branches for the advancement of the sciences and the arts. They have their peculiarities, which are not, however, obnoxious to the solution of the great problem for a country, viz., to prosper and progress.

All countries which need an increase of population appreciate fully the superior qualities of the Germans as settlers, and give them the preference over all other nations. Catherine, Empress of Russia, introduced a great number of Germans and gave them lands on the Volga, near St. Petersburg, and in the south of Russia, with many privileges. Austria tried its best to incorporate the Hungarian element with the Teutonic. France spent millions and millions of francs to build whole villages in Algeria, and furnish implements, live-stock, seeds, etc., in order to induce Germans to give value and life to its African possessions. Brazil had active agents in Europe to persuade the Germans to settle in that Empire. But all these efforts gave no important results; the great current of emigration goes westward to the United States, and is steadily on the increase; although it would be cheaper for them, and it would be accompanied with less difficulties, danger, and fatigue, to go to Russia, Hungary, and even Algeria, than to cross the Atlantic Ocean. The Germans understand fully the advantages the United States holds out to them, and having, generally speaking, means, they are willing to pay and undergo all the hardships of a long sea and land voyage, to pitch their tent on the prairies or in the forests of the great Mississippi valley, and become independent. The German emigrants are not paupers, destitute of every thing, like the Irish emigrants. They all have more or less personal property and money, with which they buy lands or undertake a trade.

How often did I hear ignorant men on the stump, speaking about the old worn-out countries of Europe, the dilapidated state of European society, and, as proof, point to the emigrants flocking by thousands to the shores of the land of the free.

Ignorance is bliss. What would be the United States if those very paupers, from whom those very stump orators sprung themselves, had not come to this

country. A country without population is of no value whatever, and it matters very little whether the emigrant is rich or poor, as long as he is young, educated, and willing to work. Every emigrant stepping on the shores of any country enriches that country at least one thousand dollars, without taking into account his personal property or money.

Some political blunderers predicted that before long all Germans would be absorbed by the United States. The number of emigrants from Europe to this country varies from 150,000 to 250,000 a year. There are about 50 millions of people speaking the German language; now if Germany would furnish every year 250,000 emigrants it would be only one-half per cent on the whole German speaking population.

The emigration occurs only in the thickly-populated countries, where landed property has already been too much subdivided. A family may exist on three or four acres of land, but when that property is going to be again divided among two or more heirs, they find it more advantageous to sell out and leave for other countries, where land is more abundant. The Governments along the Rhine, the Main, the Neckar etc., are not in the least opposed to emigration, because those countries are too densely populated, and can furnish yearly a considerable number to fill up some new State in the far West. All that government require is, that their former subjects should not be imposed upon, not taken to countries where they have no prospect to better their condition, or where they cannot acquire, or where they find not labor, and where their health is in danger, etc.

This is a wise and paternal measure, and it will be well for the South to satisfy the German Government in that respect, so that they will allow their agents to enroll settlers.

The South must establish similar institutions to those that we find in the North for the protection and assistance of emigrants; they must protect them from runners and rapacious boarding-house keepers. The South must establish hospitals and alms houses for the sick and needy. It must establish cheap and regular rates on railroads and canals, for emigrants, and do everything to show that they are not only anxious to see the German come among them, but they must also satisfy their former Government, and show that the South is in earnest to fulfill the obligation which a call for settlers imposes upon any government or society.

The Southern States engage in an enterprise entirely new to them. It will require wise measures not to begin wrong. Should they displease the first settlers they may rest assured it will be long before they succeed again to get them off from the old Western track. I would recommend that every Southern State should appoint Committees of able men and send them North to study thoroughly the measures at New York, for instance, taken in the promotion of the welfare and security of emigrants, and establish similar laws and expediences.

The South, with its enormous natural resources in fertile lands for the production of valuable staples, in forests, minerals, and water-power, may rest assured that this new enterprise will be richly remunerated, and they will soon see their property increased in value, and the South become the wealthiest portion of the United States.

STATISTICAL TABLE OF THE ARRIVALS OF GERMAN IMMIGRANTS AT THE PORT OF NEW YORK:

From	1864.		1863.		1862.		1861.		1860.		1859.	
	Yea's.	Germa's.	Yea's.	Germa's.	Yea's.	Germa's.	Yea's.	Germa's.	Yea's.	Germa's.	Yea's.	Germa's.
Bremen,	67	20,488	80	16,969	64	9,036	73	12,128	71	13,897	71	11,886
Antwerp,	18	3,181	11	958	18	760	10	393	14	521	14	583
Hamburg,	54	16,933	65	13,063	53	10,033	45	7,970	49	11,461	46	7,553
Havre,	21	3,819	16	2,234	38	2,867	67	4,633	72	9,436	65	5,597
Liverp'l,	194	5,908	163	2,292	143	1,092	137	1,359	177	1,565	138	1,253
London,	36	3,155	41	519	36	352	35	634	38	1,027	40	716
Rotterdam	5	438	5	147	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	26
Oth'r ports,	—	—	13	2,033	4	32	4	32	3	19	22	234
Total,	398	53,929	399	35,263	361	24,172	362	27,313	425	37,946	401	27,858

In the year 1858 arrived in New York.....	31,874	Germans
" 1857 " " .....	86,859	"
" 1856 " " .....	56,117	"
" 1855 " " .....	54,038	"
" 1854 " " .....	179,643	"
" 1853 " " .....	119,498	"
" 1852 " " .....	118,674	"
" 1851 " " .....	70,540	"
" 1850 " " .....	45,768	"
" 1849 " " .....	55,620	"
" 1848 " " .....	52,620	"
" 1847 " " .....	70,735	"
" 1846 " " .....	52,336	"
" 1845 " " .....	30,812	"

Total Immigration into the Port of New York:

1864, 185,208; 1863, 155,223; 1862, 76,700; 1861, 67,243; 1860, 107,802; 1859, 79,858; 1858, 78,859; 1857, 182,753; 1856, 142,557; 1855, 136,233; 1854, 333,746.

The Immigration consisted in the year 1864, of Germans, 53,929; Irish, 82,105; English, 21,206; Scotch, 3,217; Welsh, 259; French, 1,626; Swiss, 1,643.

In the year 1863, notwithstanding the war, there came a larger amount of German Emigrants to the United States than in the preceding years. In the East the merchants were in need of clerks, who in the beginning of the war enlisted largely in the Army, and in the West the farmers had to pay double the amount for labor. At the Agency of the German Society the demand for tailors, shoemakers, servant girls, and for farm hands, was so enormous that it was impossible to supply them from the immigration. The immigrants were altogether of a different character. There never arrived so many Germans whose movements were so positively defined and regulated from their points of departure to their final destination than during the year 1863. This want of farm hands induced many a German settler to send money to Europe to get their relations and friends over here; also, the Homestead Bill attracted a great number to take a chance in the benefit of 160 acres of land gratuitously given to actual settlers. The great stream of immigrants went West—to Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. The emigrants prefer steamers to sailing vessels. The passage in the former is quicker and the mortality among immigrants is less. In the year 1864, there arrived in New York, from the 1st of April to the 14th of December, 149 steamers, with 73,416 immigrants; of that number during the passage, 63 died, whereas among the 89,713 immigrants who arrived in sailing vessels, occurred 692 deaths.

The yearly reports of the Superintendent and General Emigrant Agent of Castle Garden, New York, exhibit many interesting and important details on the constantly-increasing proportion of steamers carrying emigrants.

"By comparison with former years it is shown that the number of steamers landing passengers at Castle Garden has increased from 22, bringing 5,111 passengers in 1856; to 109, bringing 34,247 passengers in 1860; to 95, bringing 21,110 passengers in 1861; to 100, bringing 25,843 passengers in 1862; to 170, bringing 63,931 passengers in 1863; and to 203 steamers, bringing 81,794 passengers in 1864. Although the emigration of the last year exhibits a falling off from that of earlier years, the arrivals show the same marked difference in favor of steamers over sailing vessels as in previous years; for instance: in 1859, the average number brought by steamers was 230, against 184 in sailing vessels; in 1860, it was 314, against 109; so in 1861, it was 222, against 132; in 1862, it was 258, against 150; and in 1863, it was 376, to 263; showing an average difference in favor of steamers of 112 passengers in 1864, 118 in 1863, of 109 in 1862, of 90 in 1861, of 115 in 1860, and of 49 in 1859."

The number of persons who landed at Castle Garden was, in the year 1864, 184,700, arriving in 577 vessels, from 18 different ports.

Register entries have been made of the intended or avowed destination of each passenger. Of these 92,409 reported their intended destination to be New York; 23,518 Pennsylvania and New Jersey; 21,014 to New England; 8,118



to the Southern States; 34,662 to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota and California; and 4,979 to Kansas, Nebraska, Canada, etc.

There is a very interesting statement in the said report in regard to making small advances to families to enable them to proceed on their journeys on a pledge of baggage, or other portable property, without interest, or any additional charge for storage.

It is stated that

"The experience of seven years has shown the value of this plan, and it has been continued regularly with the best effect. Thus assistance has been rendered to many who might otherwise have become the prey of fraud, or have fallen into destitution, whilst the character of the assistance was such as not to lessen the feeling of independent self-reliance necessary to self-support and success in all callings.

"There has been advanced for this object during 1864, the sum of \$417.50 to 63 families, who have already paid the entire amount.

"Of the whole amount advanced since this plan was adopted in August 1856, viz.: \$23,093.50 there remains \$1,376.75 due by 111 families."

The greatest amount of immigrant arrivals from Germany and Ireland, and the proportion of Germans and Irish were, within the last 17 years as follows:

	From Germany.	From Ireland.
1848.....	52,620.....	98,061.....
1849.....	55,639.....	112,691.....
1850.....	45,738.....	117,038.....
1851.....	70,540.....	163,256.....
1852.....	118,674.....	118,611.....
1853.....	119,498.....	113,164.....
1854.....	179,648.....	82,302.....
1855.....	84,038.....	43,043.....
1856.....	56,117.....	43,996.....
1857.....	86,859.....	57,106.....
1858.....	31,879.....	25,097.....
1859.....	27,858.....	34,846.....
1860.....	37,945.....	47,372.....
1861.....	27,218.....	25,870.....
1862.....	26,153.....	28,927.....
1863.....	38,263.....	50,000.....
1864.....	53,923.....	82,106.....

In Quebec, there arrived during the year 1860, 10,363 immigrants, among them were 673 Germans. In the year 1859, there arrived from Bremen, at Baltimore, in 23 vessels, 3,581 German immigrants; in the year 1860, 6,552, all from Bremen. In Philadelphia arrived, in the same year, altogether 3,289 immigrants, of which there were 354 Germans, the rest were Irish; in the following year arrived there 3,146 immigrants, of whom there were 345 Germans.

From the Reports of the German Society of New York we learn that almost all immigrants had determined beforehand where to go to, and it was very seldom that one of them asked for advice in what portion of the United States he should settle.

Lately, efforts have been made to induce the German immigrants to go South, but they all have their destinations arranged in Europe, and they cannot be persuaded to make a change. They want information in advance.

C. L. F.

## ART. XV.—WHITE EMIGRATION TO THE SOUTH.

LETTER FROM THE HON. F. C. CABELL, OF FLORIDA.

It is a painful truth, that for the last thirty years the people of the Northern and Southern States of the United States of America have been *educated to hate* each other. Studied and systematic vilification and abuse, crimination and re-

crimination, had produced a feeling of sectional antipathy which seemed inconsistent with the continuance of the people of the two sections under the same Government, and which culminated in the bloody revolution which has devastated, ruined, and subjugated one section, at the cost of millions of money and hundreds of thousands of valuable lives to both.

It will profit little to inquire which section was more to blame for this unhappy national calamity. Hostilities have ceased, peace has been restored, and there should be prompt resumption of trade and commercial intercourse. The elastic spirit of the American people should be aroused to the work of repairing the ravages of the past, and building up new glories for the future. There should be a common effort on the part of good men, everywhere, to allay, and, if possible, obliterate the feeling of bitterness caused by former sectional political education, and of animosity consequent on the collision of arms—to cultivate mutual kindness and good fellowship, essential to the making of good citizens—to foster the interest of each section, for the common good of all, and by all means to promote the progress and prosperity of our common country, and make it what it is destined to become, if not weakened and distracted by continued sectional discord and internal strife, the *ruling Power of the World*.

*Slavery*, the prolific source of all our woes, is *dead*. The cause of that embittered feeling to which I have alluded is past: let the feeling of bitterness pass with it. If maintaining the institution of Slavery was an offense deserving punishment, God knows the punishment of the late slaveholders is equal to the offense, however great its enormity. Their pecuniary loss is almost beyond calculation. The loss of property is universal. All have suffered. Thousands have been reduced from affluence to poverty. The loss of life, who can estimate? There is scarcely a Southern home that is not clad in mourning for some cherished member of the household. Districts of country larger than the area of States have been rendered desolate by the hostile armies of invasion. The hope of Southern Independence, so fondly cherished by many, has been lost forever. Political power and influence have passed away, and the proud statesmen of the South cannot exercise the rights of citizenship. What more could the bitterest enemy ask or desire?

The first feeling of disappointment and mortification at the signal failure of their plans and hopes caused many to despair and to resolve to abandon their country, or to bury themselves in utter seclusion. But, with few exceptions, this feeling has passed away. They cannot forget that *this is their country still*—that it is the grave of their ancestors, and must be the home of their children. The liberal policy of the Administration in the reestablishment of State Governments, and the character of Executive appointments, and the exercise of the pardoning power, have given them hope and encouragement. Accepting the situation as it is, there is a general resolution to make the best of it. There is now little evidence of despondency, even among men reduced to poverty. Looking with confidence to the future, they go forth with a manly heart to the discharge of their duties to their families, and with determination, by economy, industry and energy, to rebuild their fortunes and to revive the lost prosperity of their States.

Whatever may have been individual opinion of the advantages of two distinct Governments; whatever dreams there may have been of the wealth and grandeur of a Southern Confederacy, all sensible men now see the folly of cherishing such thoughts. All see that Slavery has ceased to exist, and that, throughout the length and breadth of the United States, there can be but *one Government*. To say that there remains any respectable number of people, in any one State, who believe that the institution of Slavery can be revived, or who meditate the possibility of a future attempt at Secession, is merely absurd. These questions are *settled*; and *settled forever*. We all, North, South, East and West, have *one country, one destiny, one duty*. And is it not the duty of every good citizen to seek to promote the prosperity of every portion of this their common country, and to hasten and insure the consummation of the grand future which awaits this magnificent Republic, grand beyond the imagination of man to conceive, if the Sons of the Republic everywhere shall be true to themselves and their allegiance?

The present state of things appeals especially to Southern men to devote their time and talents, and every energy of mind and body, to regenerate, populate, and improve these beautiful States, so large a part of which has been desolated by the rude hand of war. Eight years' service in the Congress of the United States as Representative from the State of Florida, a long connection with public works of Internal Improvement, and six years' residence in the Mississippi Valley, have given me a general acquaintance throughout the country, and perhaps some influence, which may, and I trust will, be potent for good.

The experiment of the Free Labor system will, I believe, be fairly tried. I shall, and I know many who will, certainly give it a full and fair experiment. Many predict its failure. In my judgment, it will be far more successful than is generally believed. But the demoralization, to the extent to which it has gone and will go, the immense loss by death, within the last four years, and the withdrawal of so many black laborers to fill up the Federal armies, render a reliance on the labor of Freedmen utterly inadequate to the wants of the country. To insure not only the revival and prosperity of the Southern States, but the prosperity and greatness of the Republic, a large and intelligent *White population* must be introduced into the Southern country. This requires capital, which the impoverished people of the South have not, and the active sympathy, cordial coöperation and effective aid of enterprising capitalists and energetic philanthropists of New York, New England, the great North-West, and enlightened Europe.

The mass of the Southern people lost everything in the late revolution but their lands, the larger portion of which they now are unable to cultivate for want of labor. This large surplus they must sell. Hundreds of thousands of acres of good lands are thus offered for sale at the very lowest prices. Many fine plantations may be purchased for a sum much below the cost of the buildings erected upon them, and highly improved estates at less than half the price of wild lands in the same vicinity four years ago. There are, besides, millions of acres of unimproved lands to be purchased at prices proportionately low. Who can doubt that with the revival of trade and the return of prosperity, and the influx of population which must soon follow, these lands will, in a very few years, rule at least as high as they did in 1860? The lands in the Mississippi Valley, liable to inundation, are capable of producing cotton enough to clothe the civilized world, and corn enough to feed the population of America. The price of many of these lands is nominal. They will some day become of inestimable value. The reclamation of this immense domain, of Egyptian fertility, must arrest the attention of Congress, and is well worthy the attention and favorable action of the Legislature of the Nation. It is impossible to estimate the wealth of soil which will be reclaimed by the great national work of *leveeing the Mississippi* and its tributaries.

Never were there such inducements to immigrants desiring to secure cheap and comfortable homes, and rarely such opportunities to capitalists to make paying, safe investments. In climate, fertility, and variety of soil, the country of which I speak is unequalled. Many parts of it are as well adapted to the culture of the vine as the choicest spots in France. Grain of all sorts grows as luxuriantly and yields as abundantly as in any part of the world. The whole country is rich in every species of mineral as well as agricultural wealth. Coal, iron, and indications of petroleum abound in every State. To develop this patent and hidden wealth, the land cries out for LABOR. To rebuild our public works, and to build new ones, to meet the demands of the country, there is the same pressing demand for Labor.

It is a *great mistake* to suppose that there is now any general feeling of opposition to the acquisition of population from the Northern States, or from Europe. Except with a few impracticable, short-sighted men, the return of peace has restored fraternity of feeling for all peaceful, good citizens who may settle among us. We desire, earnestly desire, the immigration of honest, industrious *white men*. Especially do we invite, *cordially invite*, those having means to become *proprietors of the soil*, who will come with their families, to live on their own lands, and become citizens, interested like ourselves in the prosperity of the

country. The amount necessary to purchase lands sufficient to secure independence is small. At the present price of cotton, one bale is worth \$200. A bale to the acre is hardly an average yield on bottom lands, and a good hand may well cultivate 10 acres of cotton, with corn and vegetables enough for his family and his farm. We believe that all who come, or who invest their money among us, may better their condition, while our country will derive the greatest benefit from accession of capital and increase of population. With capital and an industrious laboring population from abroad, these Southern States, now a desolation and a waste, will come to blossom as the rose, and be recognized as the garden of the world.

I earnestly invite the attention of Emigrant Associations to this subject. The honest, industrious poor man who first comes, the enterprising capitalist who first invests his money and facilitates the emigrant, will reap the first and surest reward. The philanthropist who would better the condition of his fellowman can find no better field than this. And what nobler object can engage the attention of the enlightened statesman than the work of peopling and developing the great resources of this magnificently beautiful country? It is a subject worthy the attention of all good people, who desire the welfare of their country. To all such, I respectfully commend the careful consideration of these crude suggestions; and if I shall succeed in attracting the attention of those able and willing to further this great work I shall feel that I have indeed "done the State some service." I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. C. CABELL.

#### DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

For nearly twenty years we have regularly incorporated, from month to month the great results of American Commerce, foreign and domestic, for the nation at large and for each of its States and cities, and shall continue these labors in the future, omitting but little that is worthy of preservation.

In addition to this, we have not neglected, and shall not neglect, the questions of commerce in countries tributary to our own in every part of the world.

Hereafter, it will be our purpose to furnish a monthly statement of the Financial and Commercial movements from day to day and week to week, in the great cities of the Union.

#### 1—COTTON TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

	1862.		1863.		1864.	
	United States.	Total.	United States.	Total.	United States.	Total.
Import, stock, etc.						
Stock, Jan. 1, bales . .	434,000	883,000	88,000	507,000	52,000	364,000

#### CONSUMPTION OF COTTON IN EUROPE.

	1864.	1863.	1862.	1861.
United States.....lbs.	104,000,000	85,000,000	193,000,000	1,197,000,000.
Brazil.....	41,000,000	32,000,000	24,000,000	16,000,000
West Indies.....	18,000,000	6,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000
East Indies and China.....	575,000,000	562,000,000	427,000,000	300,000,000
Mediterranean.....	242,000,000	200,000,000	106,000,000	88,000,000
Total pounds.....	980,000,000	885,000,000	758,000,000	1,609,000,000

#### RECEIPTS OF COTTON IN GREAT BRITAIN.

	From Bombay.	From Madras.	From Egypt.	From Brazil.
1860.....bales	508,000	55,000	109,000	103,000
1861.....	906,000	80,000	97,000	100,000
1862.....	915,000	124,000	132,000	134,000
1863.....	899,000	177,000	204,000	148,000
1864.....	1,043,000	173,000	257,000	212,000



## 2.—COMMERCE OF CINCINNATI.

	Imports.	Exports.
1860-61.....	\$90,198,136	\$67,023,136
1861-62.....	105,232,893	76,449,862
1862-63.....	144,189,213	102,397,171
1863-64.....	389,790,537	239,979,825
1864-65.....	307,552,397	293,730,317

## IMPORTS IN DETAIL.

	Pork and bacon, hhda.	Pork. tea.	Pork bbls.	Pork, lbs.	Lard, bbls.	Lard, kegs.
1860 to 31 Aug.....	4,662	2,882	25,456	23,250,322	47,499	14,319
1861.....	5,136	6,459	37,447	21,912,769	50,362	12,245
1862.....	10,082	3,879	46,903	28,708,694	99,085	33,582
1863.....	8,443	10,361	47,457	33,215,723	93,707	11,800
1864.....	5,353	7,178	41,412	20,169,052	58,828	5,327
1865.....	4,918	6,810	38,642	10,868,538	55,556	6,430

## EXPORTS IN DETAIL.

1860.....	52,532	39,833	104,347	345,932	60,658	55,701
1861.....	47,861	32,251	121,635	706,571	100,806	46,643
1862.....	39,458	40,965	86,363	2,038,393	139,596	61,352
1863.....	27,746	53,735	123,900	700,881	144,147	33,699
1864.....	34,759	31,549	136,126	1,810,875	82,836	13,028
1865.....	27,727	37,440	86,061	1,124,756	64,011	17,674

## 3.—COMMERCE OF BALTIMORE.

## IMPORTS.

	1864.	1863.
Sugar.....	lb. 34,919,266	40,808,242
Coffee.....	15,721,657	14,060,034
Salt.....	bush. 28,844,570	341,500
Molasses.....	galls. 1,044,903	842,103
Guano.....	tons. 1,916	940

## EXPORTS.

	1864.	1863.
Corn.....	bush. 105,544	271,542
Wheat.....	60,022	95,194
Flour.....	bbls. 331,423	316,596
Coal.....	tons. 7,303	8,705
Oils (petroleum and coal).....	galls. 821,808	318,870
Tobacco.....	value. \$5,250,044	\$4,576,221
Tobacco, mid.....	lb. 63,727	102,301
Tallow.....	458,459	1,241,735
Lumber.....	value. \$224,692	\$179,929
Lard.....	lb. 2,564,400	3,661,113
Pork.....	bbls. 5,803	7,098

## 4.—SPERM OIL—THE SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

In view of the unprecedented fall short in the import of Crude Sperm Oil this year, and of its probable still further reduction for the year 1866, we give a few statistics touching the supply and demand for a period of ten years past, which cannot fail to interest both consumers and producers:

	Stock on hand.	No. of	Imports	Exports
	bbls.	vessels.	bbls.	bbls.
Jan. 1, 1856	14,000	635	80,941	20,052
" 1857	30,000	655	78,540	37,231
" 1858	38,000	654	81,941	33,666
" 1859	17,176	625	91,408	52,207
" 1860	13,429	509	73,708	32,792
" 1861	15,883	564	68,932	37,547
" 1862	16,132	493	55,641	27,976
" 1863	16,038	362	65,055	18,366
" 1864	31,200	304	64,372	43,362
" 1865	20,382	276	33,000	47,000
Oct. 18, 1865	13,000	259		
Average import for 9 years, ending 1864			bbls.	73,282
Smallest " " "				55,641
Average export				33,652
Smallest " " "				18,366
Average consumption for the same period, including export				72,695
Smallest " " "				49,893
Stock on hand Oct. 18, 1865				13,000
Estimated arrivals for balance of year				4,000
				17,000
Estimated imports for 1866				20,000
				37,000

This amount, 37,000 bbla., is the estimated supply for 14½ months, ending Dec. 31, 1866, for both this country and Great Britain.

The figures for the latter country, where nearly as much Sperm Oil is consumed as here, are as follows:

	Cleared in London for consumption.	Total receipts in the United Kingdom.
1860 .....	bbls. 41,600	
1861 .....	33,700	
1862 .....	27,100	42,720
1863 .....	26,500	38,050
1864 .....	33,300	57,400

The average consumption in Great Britain for 1862, '63, and '64, was about 39,000 bbls.

The facts thus disclosed are very significant. The import of Sperm Oil this year will not exceed 33,000 bbls., against 64,372 bbls. last year; while it is safe, judging from the imports of the last 9 years, to estimate that the imports of 1866, the entire catch on board whalers now being only about 17,000 bbls., will not vary much from 20,000 bbls. It is to be borne in mind, that not only has our fleet been reduced, but many sperm whalers have been sent north. The consumption for the next 14 months, taking the average for 9 years past, will be about 85,000 bbls.; to supply this demand, we shall have but 37,000 bbls., while England herself will require, at least, 32,000 bbls. The increased activity in cotton manufactures, and the immense cotton sales in England (one week 30,000 bales daily, valued at £12,000,000), indicate that the demand for Sperm Oil must increase. England, after receiving nearly 50,000 bbls. from our catch last year, has commenced supplying her wants from this market; though as yet she has received but 7,000 bbls. The shipments heretofore made from our whalers at English ports must almost entirely cease, as must the imports from English colonies. England must look here for her supplies.

It must be a matter of surprise, upon considering the above facts and figures

\* Estimated.

† Exports from Jan. 1 to Oct. 18, 1965.

## DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

97

that the price of Sperm Oil rules so low. In 1855 the average price in gold was \$1.77 1-5; equal, as exchange now is, to \$2.60. Now, with not only a brisk demand, but with a frightfully diminished supply, it is selling at about \$1.61 in gold.—*New Bedford Mercury*.

## 5.—COMMERCE OF NEW YORK.

FOREIGN IMPORTS AT NEW YORK FOR NINE MONTHS, FROM JANUARY 1.

	1863.	1864.	1865.
Entered for consumption.....	\$81,666,355	\$93,411,384	\$80,953,556
Do. for warehousing.....	45,327,610	85,395,103	58,146,535
Free goods.....	9,325,831	8,839,129	7,542,144
Specie and bullion.....	1,228,121	1,859,144	1,681,759
Total entered at port .....	\$137,547,817	\$189,504,760	\$148,323,994

EXPORTS FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN PORTS FOR THE NINE MONTHS FROM

	JANUARY 1. 1863.	1864.	1865.
Domestic produce.....	\$125,475,981	\$153,851,993	\$107,934,357
Foreign merchandise free.....	779,798	1,682,348	772,180
Do. dutiable....	4,281,442	13,961,235	2,741,641
Specie and bullion.....	32,846,494	34,936,661	22,689,116
Total exports.....	\$163,333,715	\$204,332,237	\$134,137,294
Do. exclusive of specie.....	130,487,221	169,395,576	111,448,178

## 6.—STATISTICS OF COTTON.

The *New York World*, in an elaborate paper upon the Cotton Trade, is our authority for the following. We shall have something to say upon the subject ourselves in the next number of the REVIEW:

## COTTON MANUFACTURE ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

The status of the cotton manufacture in the other countries of Europe, in 1860, will be seen by reference to the following table. To render the same more complete we have included in it a recapitulation of some of the figures given in the above account of the trade in our own country and in Great Britain:

## COTTON MANUFACTURES OF THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE IN 1860.

	No. of factories.	Hands employed.	Spindles.	Lbs. of cot- ton used.
United States.....	915	118,920	5,035,798	364,036,123
Great Britain.....	2,250	500,000	30,000,000	1,140,570,112
France.....	2,000	274,830	5,500,000	140,000,000
Switzerland.....	132	51,908	1,112,303	30,000,000
Zollverein.....	208	110,190	2,018,536	65,000,000
Austria.....	90	32,010	655,000	25,000,000
Belgium.....	28	28,000	510,000	31,000,000
Lombardy.....	33	29,000	140,000	10,000,000
Sardinia.....	17	14,000	210,000	17,000,000
Russia.....	55	60,000	1,100,000	65,281,000
Total.....	5,728	1,218,868	46,281,637	1,887,827,235

When we consider the large number of hands, and especially of women and children, who find employment in this great branch of trade, and the amount of capital invested in it, and then reflect that its growth, both in this country and abroad, has taken place within the last sixty years, we may class it as one of the marvels of the nineteenth century.

Mr. George McHenry, in a work on "The Cotton Trade," recently published in England, estimates the following as the consumption of cotton throughout the world during the year 1860:

<i>In machine goods.</i>	Population.	Pounds.
France, 4 lbs. per head.....	37,000,000	148,000,000
Great Britain and Ireland, 9 lbs. per head.....	29,000,000	261,000,000
Rest of Europe, average 1 lb. per head.....	210,000,000	210,000,000
Asia, Australia, Polynesia and Egypt, 1 lb. per head.....	770,000,000	770,000,000
United States, 12 lbs. per head.....	31,000,000	372,000,000
Rest of America, 1 lb. per head.....	39,000,000	39,000,000
	1,116,000,000	1,800,000,000

*Hand-made.*

Add that manufactured by hand, and stocks held over in various places in the world, exclusive of the interior of Africa.....	600,000,000
Total.....	2,400,000,000

The average consumption in Europe is given. In Turkey and Germany, three pounds per head are used, but in many places there is none whatever. Mr. McHenry estimates that only six hundred millions of people wear cotton; Mr. Conklin's table gives more than double that number.

Though we have given Mr. McHenry's figures, we must say that in some instances they convey gross misconceptions. His book is written in the interest of the cotton States, and his object has been to prove that those States supplied the greater part of the cotton consumed in the world. If, however, he merely means the cotton that entered into the channels of commerce and passed through the factories of Europe and America, he is not far wrong. But the statements we hereafter make in reference to the production, etc., of cotton in India and China, will prove how wide he is of the truth when he places the consumption in *hand-manufactured* goods at only six hundred millions of pounds.

THE COTTON CROP ACCORDING TO THE LAST CENSUS.

The census taken in June, 1860, gives the amount of ginned cotton raised in the United States during the previous year as 5,387,652 bales of 400 pounds each, or 2,154,820,800 pounds. This was considerably more than double the amount raised ten years before, when the previous census was taken.

The following table shows the number of bales raised in the separate States and Territories:

<i>States, etc.</i>	Bales.	<i>States, etc.</i>	Bales.
Mississippi.....	1,202,507	Florida.....	65,153
Alabama.....	989,955	Missouri.....	41,188
Louisiana.....	777,738	Virginia.....	12,727
Georgia.....	701,840	Illinois.....	1,482
Texas.....	431,463	Utah.....	136
Arkansas.....	367,393	Kansas.....	61
South Carolina.....	353,412	New Mexico.....	19
North Carolina.....	145,514	Tennessee.....	296,464
Total.....			5,387,652

From this table it appears that the four States which stand at the head of the list produced more than two-thirds the supply, or 3,672,040 bales, against 1,715,612 bales produced in the other States, etc.

The relative positions of the States were considerably changed during the decade. In the previous enumeration Alabama stood at the head of the list, while Mississippi came second; then came in order Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Louisiana; Texas and Arkansas, which followed, produced at



that time only 58,072 and 65,344 bales respectively. This significant fact proves how the great proportion of the cotton trade had migrated within the ten years from the Atlantic States to those on the Gulf and the lower Mississippi.

#### THE PRODUCERS OF COTTON.

From the same source we extract the following tabular statement of the production of cotton throughout the world during each of the years named. The figures doubtless approximate to correctness with the exception of those giving the growth in India and the rest of Asia. During the years 1840, 1850 and 1860, about half the amount stated to have been produced in these years in India was exported thence to England, while it sent an equal amount of raw cotton to China, and a large supply of home-manufactured goods to various parts of Asia, and some even to Europe:

#### GROWTH OF COTTON IN THE WORLD IN MILLIONS OF POUNDS.

	1791.	1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	1840.	1850.	1860.
Brazil.....	22	26	35	32	38	30	40	36
West Indies.....	12	10	12	10	9	8	3	6
Egypt.....			1	6	18	25	30	34
Rest of Africa.....	45	46	44	40	36	34	34	35
India.....	130	160	170	175	180	185	210	450
Rest of Asia.....	190	160	146	135	115	110	120	132
Mexico and South America except Brazil.....	68	56	57	44	35	35	40	57
Elsewhere.....		15	11	8	4	18	15	100
United States.....	2	48	80	180	385	654	990	1,650
Total.....	469	531	556	630	820	1,094	1,482	2,500

It will be noticed that between the years 1831 and 1840 this country began to supply half, and in 1860 two-thirds the product of the staple as given in the above estimate.

#### THE COTTON SUPPLY DURING THE WAR.

The result of the rebellion has been to place the United States in the fifth rank of the nations supplying cotton to the manufactories of the world, and to remove them for a time from the prominent position they previously held over all other cotton-exporting countries. Such being the case, it is material to know from whence the cotton has been obtained that has in some measure helped to fill the void caused by the stoppage of the Southern supply. As England has been the country most affected by this stoppage we will confine our remarks to her commerce in the staple, especially as it is to her we must hope to send the greatest part of our cotton exports in the future, as we did in the past.

#### AMOUNT OF COTTON OBTAINED BY ENGLAND.

The following table gives the receipts of cotton in Great Britain for two periods of four years, one being that immediately preceding the war, and the other that of the war:

Before the War.		During the War.	
	Pounds.		Pounds.
1857.....	974,287,900	1861.....	1,260,325,900
1858.....	1,018,130,000	1862.....	535,001,500
1859.....	1,191,055,300	1863.....	682,810,000
1860.....	1,417,374,800	1864.....	901,850,000

The large amount obtained in 1861 is accounted for from the fact of there being no blockade of the Southern ports for the first four months of that year, and it was then for a long time so inefficient that blockade-runners carried on a prosperous and profitable trade. In fact the South managed to dispose of nearly all the previous year's crop.

## SOURCES OF SUPPLY.

Below is given a list of the countries from which England drew her supply, and the amount received from each, during the year 1864, and appended to it is an estimate of the receipts for the current year which appears to have met with general acceptance in the best informed commercial circles:

From	Actual Import in 1864.	Estimated Import in 1865.
India.....	1,399,514 bales	1,500,000 bales.
China.....	390,074 "	600,000 "
Egypt.....	257,102 "	357,000 "
Brazil.....	212,192 "	250,000 "
America.....	197,776 "	200,000 "
West Indies, &c.....	59,645 "	100,000 "
Smyrna and Mediterranean ports...	62,053 "	93,000 "
Total.....	2,587,356 bales.	3,100,000 bales.

It must be remarked that the estimate for 1865 was made early in the year, and with the anticipation that the war would continue throughout the year. The close of the struggle having now thrown the cotton stored at the South into the market, a considerable increase in the figures put down for America may be the result, while depreciation in price may decrease the exports from other countries.

## DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

THE REVIEW is open for discussions upon any and all subjects relating to the progress of National Agriculture, and it will devote especial attention to the development of Southern crops in connection with the new state of industry in that quarter.

We invite the attention of agriculturists to this matter, and shall be glad at all times to receive and embody their views.

In its past history the REVIEW has devoted much attention to the agricultural staples of the South, their mode of cultivation and value, and many of the most valuable papers were afterwards condensed by the Editor into his book, entitled, "Progress and Resources of the South," etc. The volumes would be consulted to advantage now.

## 1.—VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PROPERTY IN THE UNITED STATES.

States.	Acres Improved.	Unimproved.	Cash Value.
Alabama.....	6,385,724	12,718,821	\$175,824,622
Arkansas.....	1,983,313	7,590,393	91,649,773
California.....	2,468,034	6,262,000	48,726,804
Connecticut.....	1,830,807	673,457	90,830,005
Delaware.....	637,065	367,230	31,426,357
Florida.....	654,213	2,206,015	16,435,727
Georgia.....	8,062,758	18,587,732	157,072,803
Illinois.....	13,096,374	7,815,615	408,944,033
Indiana.....	8,242,183	8,146,109	356,712,175
Iowa.....	3,792,792	6,277,115	119,899,547
Kansas.....	405,468	1,872,932	12,258,239
Kentucky.....	7,644,208	11,519,053	291,496,955
Louisiana.....	2,707,108	6,591,468	204,789,662
Maine.....	2,704,133	3,023,538	78,688,525
Maryland.....	3,002,267	1,833,304	145,973,677
Massachusetts.....	2,155,512	1,183,212	123,255,948
Michigan.....	3,476,296	3,554,533	160,836,495

## DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

101

States.	Acres Improved.	Unimproved.	Cash value.
Minnesota.....	586,250	2,155,716	27,503,922
Mississippi.....	5,063,755	10,773,929	190,760,367
Missouri.....	6,246,871	13,787,939	230,632,126
New Hampshire.....	2,367,034	1,377,591	69,689,761
New Jersey.....	1,944,441	1,039,084	180,250,338
New York.....	14,358,403	6,616,555	803,343,593
North Carolina.....	6,517,284	17,245,685	143,301,065
Ohio.....	12,625,394	7,846,747	678,132,991
Oregon.....	806,414	1,164,125	15,200,593
Pennsylvania.....	10,463,296	6,548,844	662,050,707
Rhode Island.....	335,128	186,096	19,550,552
South Carolina.....	4,572,060	11,623,859	139,652,508
Tennessee.....	6,795,337	13,873,828	271,358,985
Texas.....	2,650,781	22,693,247	88,101,820
Vermont.....	2,823,157	1,451,257	94,289,045
Virginia.....	11,437,821	19,679,215	371,761,661
Wisconsin.....	3,746,167	4,147,420	131,117,164
Total States.....	162,649,848	241,943,671	\$6,631,520,046
Total Territories.....	460,872	2,158,147	\$13,524,961
Aggregate.....	163,110,720	244,101,818	\$6,645,045,008

## 2.—COST OF PRODUCING COTTON AT THE SOUTH.

Twelve or fifteen years ago some calculations were made, going to show the lowest price at which cotton could be produced and sold on the Southern plantations, and a great variety of information upon the subject was condensed by us into the *Industrial Resources of the South and West*. (See vol. II., p. 16.)

The subject is one of the greatest interest and importance now that inducements are being held out to immigrants, and large quantities of Southern land are put into the market. In our opinion no greater field for capital or enterprise was ever offered to the world than the production of cotton at prices which may range at even one half or one third the present limits.

Among the calculations made at the time were those by Solon Robinson, now agricultural editor of the *New York Tribune*. He took the case first of Colonel Williams' plantation, near Society Hill, S. C. giving the investment and the crop:

CAPITAL INVESTED.	CROP.
4,200 acres of land (2,700 in cultivation) at \$15.....	331,000 lbs. cotton, at.....
.....\$63,000.00	13,500 lbs of bacon, taken for
254 slaves, at \$350 each, average old and young.....	home place and factory....
89,900.00	Beef and butter for do. and
60 mules and mares, and one jack, and one stud, average \$60.....	sales.....
3,720.00	1,100 bushels of corn and
200 head of cattle, at \$10... 2,000.00	meal for do. and sales.....
500 head of hogs, at \$2..... 1,000.00	80 cords of tan bark for his
23 carts and 6 wagons..... 520.00	tan yard.....
60 bull-tongue plows, 60 shav- ing do., 25 turning do., 15 drill do., 15 harrows, at an average of \$1.50 each.....	Charges to others for black- smith work.....
262.00	Mutton and wool for home use and sales.....
All other plantation tools estimated, worth.....	125.00
1,000.00	
<b>\$161,402.00</b>	<b>\$2,430.00</b>

The expenses on this plantation are given in detail from the proprietor's books:

Interest on first five items, \$158,620 at 7 per cent.....	\$11,103.00
Freight and commissions on cotton at market $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.....	2,069.60
Bagging and rope.....	727.84
Taxes, medical attendance, overseers, clothing, and extras for negroes, replacing machinery.....	3,994.04
	<hr/>
	\$17,894.48
Deduct other products than cotton.....	2,430.00

---

\$15,464.00

Cost per pound for cotton produced.....4.7 mills.

A writer in the *South Carolinian* submitted Mr. Robinson's conclusions to severe criticism, and deduced from these items the following for Mr. Williams' estate, above referred to:

CAPITAL INVESTED, \$150,152.

*Income of the Farm.*

331,136 lbs. cotton, at six cents.....	\$19,868.16
Bacon and other provisions.....	2,430.00
Increase of negroes, say five per cent., set down as capital \$89,000..	4,495.00

---

\$26,793.16

The annual expenses of the farm, as itemized by Mr. Robinson, a full estimate, including freight and commission... 6,791.48

Net profits of capital invested.....\$20,001.68

These profits amount to over *thirteen per cent. per annum* over all expenses—the *Charleston* price of cotton being only put down at six cents. Suppose the crop averaged eight cents in *Charleston*, as it would do at the present time, (1858), the profits would be \$26,614.40, or nearly eighteen per cent!!

Another estate, that of Robert Montague, in Marengo county, Alabama, is taken, and furnishes the following statistics:

CAPITAL INVESTED.

1,100 acres of land, at \$25..	\$27,500.00
120 slaves, at \$400.....	48,000.00
4 wagons.....	400.00
5 yoke of oxen at \$30.....	150.00
30 mules and horses, at \$75.	2,250.00
4,000 bushels corn on hand for plantation use, at 35 cents.....	1,400.00
Fodder and oats, do. do...	200.00
40 head of cattle, at \$5. do.	200.00
70 do. of sheep, at \$2. do.	140.00
250 do. of hogs, do.	600.00
20,000 lbs. bacon and pork, do	1,000.00
Plows and all other tools, do.	500.00

---

\$82,240.00

EXPENSES.

Interest on capital at seven per cent.....	\$5,756.80
Cash expenses, taxes, average.	100.00
Blankets, hats and shoes, (other clothing all home-made).....	250.00
Medical bill, average not exceeding.....	40.00
500 lbs. iron, \$30; hoes and spades, \$30.....	60.00
Average outlay for mules over what are raised.....	100.00
Average expense yearly for machinery repairs.....	20.00
Bagging and rope.....	350.00

---

\$6,676.00

The crop was 128,000 pounds cotton which would be a cost of about six cents per pound.

In all sections of the South, adapted to white labor, it may be safely assumed that, under judicious administration, results in the future quite as favorable may be counted upon.



## DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

Our statement of American railroads cannot be made complete for this issue of the Review in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining Southern statistics. We hope to obtain from the companies in that quarter, at an early date, an exact report of their condition, resources, debts, and the amount of machinery existing and required. The necessities of the Southern roads, and their important connections with those of the North should stimulate capitalists everywhere to aid in their re-construction.

## RAILROADS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Years.	Length at the end of each year. Miles.	Capital paid up. (Shares, Loans, &c.)	Passengers Conveyed. No.	Traffic Receipts.	Working Expenses.	Net Receipts.
1848	5,127	£200,173,059	57,965,070	£9,933,551		
1849	6,031	229,747,778	63,841,539	11,806,498		
1850	6,621	240,270,745	72,854,422	13,204,668		
1851	6,890	248,240,896	85,391,095	14,997,459		
1852	7,336	264,165,672	89,135,729	15,710,554		
1853	7,686	273,324,514	102,286,660	18,035,879		
1854	8,054	286,068,794	111,206,707	20,215,724	£9,206,205	£11,009,519
1855	8,280	297,684,709	118,595,135	21,507,599	10,299,709	11,207,890
1856	8,707	307,595,086	129,347,592	23,165,491	10,837,456	12,328,035
1857	9,094	315,157,258	139,008,888	24,174,610	11,240,239	12,934,371
1858	9,542	325,375,507	139,193,699	23,956,749	11,668,225	12,288,524
1859	10,002	334,362,928	149,807,148	25,743,502	(Not ascertained.)	
1860	10,433	348,130,127	163,483,572	27,766,622	13,187,368	14,579,254
1861	10,869	362,327,338	173,773,218	28,565,355	13,843,337	14,722,018
1862	11,551	385,218,438	180,420,065	29,089,100	14,268,409	14,810,691

Cannot be given previous to 1854.

## MISCELLANEOUS STATISTICS.

## THE FAR WEST.

We have before us a little work, entitled, "The Great West," by Edward H. Hall, which abounds in the most valuable information of the latest date in regard to the States and Territories of the far West, which have sprung up in the last few years, and which are exhibiting the most extraordinary development. We commend the work to all persons desiring information upon this important section of the Union.

It affords us pleasure to make some references to the contents of the volume:

MINNESOTA.—The population in 1860 was 172,000, against 5,330 in 1850. The country is undulating, like Iowa and Wisconsin. Its soil fertile. Its climate is remarkably dry and salubrious. Its settlements are principally in the South-eastern part of the State and along the courses of the large rivers. Even in these localities many choice locations are still unoccupied. Copper and iron ore are abundant in parts of the State, and some coal has been discovered. There is no lack of timber generally, and there is an abundance of water power for manufacturing purposes. Four railroads are in progress in the State:

## PRINCIPAL CITIES AND TOWNS.

"Saint Paul, the capital and chief commercial city of the State, has a romantic situation on the bluffs, at the head of navigation on the Mississippi. Population, at the last census (1860), was 10,401. It now contains nearly double that

number. It contains the capitol, a handsome brick edifice, various handsome churches, several first-class hotels, and many splendid private residences.

"Saint Anthony, on the east side of the river, nine miles above Saint Paul, commands a fine view of the falls, from which the city derives its name. It is the seat of the University of Minnesota, and contains numerous fine buildings. Population 4,000. Principal business, manufacture of lumber and flour.

"Minneapolis, on the west side of the Mississippi, divides with Saint Anthony the immense power created by the falls at that place. A canal is in process of construction, which will render this power available for an unlimited amount of machinery. This town is pleasantly situated on a high rolling prairie. It contains several fine public and private buildings, and has a population of several thousand.

"Stillwater, on the St. Croix River, is a flourishing town, and the centre of a large lumber trade.

#### MINERAL RESOURCES.

"The northwestern section of Minnesota is crossed by ranges of granite, overlaid with deposits of clay and drift. These ranges are a continuation of the great development of primary rock which extends from Labrador and James Bay along the western shore of Lake Superior, thence westward, and disappears under the drift deposit of the Red River valley. The elevation of this primary rock, covered with a deep stratum of drift, constitutes the heights of land from whence descend the three great rivers. The rocky, sterile, northwestern corner of the State comprises a mineral field, which, if we may trust the deductions of geologists, will be inferior only to agriculture as a source of wealth.

*Copper.*—Copper abounds in the mineral belt stretching along the northern shore of Lake Superior; and large masses of the pure metal have been taken from Knife and Stuart Rivers.

Iron ore is found in considerable quantity around Portage and Pigeon Rivers. The metal wrought from this ore has been put to the severest test, and found fully equal in tenacity and malleability to the best Swedish and Russian iron. The shipments of iron ore from the Superior District amounted, for 1855, to 1,447 tons; and for 1858, to 31,035 tons.

Discoveries of coal have also been made in Brown county, on the Cottonwood River, in the vicinity of New Ulm, but little or nothing is yet known of their extent or value.

Building stone, slate, and clay are also found in different sections of the State."

We shall continue this subject hereafter, and more fully in regard to the States and Territories which follow:

Montana.....	Population 30,000.	Capital....	Virginia City.
Nevada.....	" 45,000.	" .....	Carson City.
Colorado.....	" 52,000.	" .....	Denver.
Arizona.....	" 15,000.	" .....	Prescott.
Utah.....	" 93,000.	" .....	Salt Lake City.
Washington.....	" 15,000.	" .....	Olympia.
Oregon.....	" 52,765.	" .....	Salem.
New Mexico.....	" 28,000.	" .....	Santa Fe.
California.....	" 500,000.	" .....	Sacramento.
Dacotah.....	" 9,000.	" .....	Yankton.
Western Missouri.....			
Nebraska.....	" 28,892.	" .....	Omaha City.
Kansas.....	" 167,206.	" .....	Topeka.
Idaho.....	" 25,000.	" .....	Idaho.

## EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANIES.

We are indebted to the *Hon. Secretary of the Treasury* for the Reports of National Commerce and Navigation for the years 1860, '61, '62, and '63, that of 1864 having not yet been issued. These reports embrace a vast amount of detailed information in regard to our foreign and domestic commercial relations, and are a great improvement upon the reports which were formerly issued from the office. They will furnish much aid in our future labors. Mr. McCulloch has established his character—a statesman of large and liberal views—upon the great questions and necessities of the day.

From the *Department of Agriculture*, through Isaac Newton, Esq., its head, we have been courteously presented with the volumes which have emanated from the office since 1860, and with the monthly Bulletin of agricultural facts which it issues. There is no subject of interest to American agriculturists which is not ably and elaborately treated in these volumes, and they are a credit to the Government and people.

The *Census Office* presents us with the volumes which have so far appeared, embodying the Statistics of Population and Agriculture for 1860, and a general compendium of the whole work. These volumes were issued under the superintendence of Mr. Kennedy. Others are promised, which will be edited, we believe, by Mr. Wilson, the chief clerk. The vast fund of material which is furnished will enable us hereafter to prepare some articles on national statistics which will have a general value, and we will at the same time, perhaps, take occasion to refer to the census of 1850, and fur-

nish some perhaps necessary data, showing our connection with that work, and refuting the idle and unjust complaints which were made against us from certain sources, and which we have allowed to sleep for nearly ten years, not regarding the subject as of any public interest. Meanwhile, we accord to Mr. Kennedy the credit to which he is entitled for the excellent manner in which the facts are presented in the present works.

The *State Department* has extended to us equal courtesies in presenting the admirable volumes for 1860, '61, '62, '63, and 1864, upon our *Commercial Relations* with foreign powers. They embrace the reports of all Consular Agents in every part of the world, and embody valuable statistics in relation to each country, the tariff regulations in force, etc., etc. With such information before him, a statesman must be inexcusable who blunders in forming his opinions of the commercial requisitions of this country. From the same Department we receive the *Reports of Immigration*, covering the years above referred to, and find the tables very complete and well-digested but somewhat deficient in aggregate results, which we understand will be supplied hereafter.

The *Book Table* of the REVIEW is rather meager for the present month. Shut off as we were within the South during the four years of the war from communication with the outside world, it is refreshing to look over the catalogues of the time and examine upon their bookshelves the rich accumulations. Though the number of new works is much smaller than we had

supposed, a very striking improvement is to be noted in the character of the material and the style of publication. We acknowledge our obligations to Harper & Brothers for several of these works:

1. *The Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies*, by Wm. G. Sewall. This is a volume which will be especially valuable in the present times, and the author had rare opportunities of informing himself in every particular. He went to the Islands unfavorably impressed with regard to the results of emancipation, and after a full examination his views underwent a radical change. An article in review of the volume has been commenced by us, but it must be delayed to the next issue of the REVIEW, when, perhaps, some data in relation to the recent outbreak in Jamaica may be appended.

2. *History of the United States Cavalry*, by Major Albert G. Brackett. This is a very handsome volume, with engravings, and furnishes a complete history of that branch of the military service of the United States, from the formation of the Government until the present time. Appended to the work is a list of all the regiments (with the names of their commanders) which have been in service during the recent war. It is through channels like this, personal memoirs and official documents, that we must expect a fair and just history of the American troubles; and therefore the student should begin his collection now, and include in his catalogue the productions of either side. The truths of contemporary history can only be slowly sifted out.

3. *Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America*, by John W. Draper, M. D., LL.D., author of the *History of Intellectual Development in Europe*. In treating this subject, the author discusses the influences of cli-

mate upon national character, the effects of emigration, etc.; and he arrives at the conclusion that there is a tendency everywhere to the concentration of power, which he regards so far from being in antagonism to democratic institutions, as to be their legitimate and unavoidable results.

4. *The Observing Faculties* are treated of in a neat little volume by Warren Burton, whose object is to indicate to parents and teachers the readiest means of attracting the youthful mind, and of imparting information, and of seizing upon its peculiarities. The work is very interesting in all of these particulars.

5. Professor March, of Lafayette College, Eastern Pennsylvania, furnishes a brief manual for the *Philological Study of the English Language*, of which he is a professor. The subject is ingeniously treated, and the work is well adapted to the purposes of our high schools, academies, etc.

6. *The Oil Regions of Pennsylvania*. This is a duodecimo of about 300 pages, and professes to be a guide to the location where petroleum is found—how it is to be obtained, and at what cost. The author, William Wright, has had a large practical acquaintance with the subject, and has traveled extensively in its elucidation. The wonderful results of petroleum are entirely unknown to our Southern readers, and we were almost surprised to hear when the war was over, that a new thing under the sun had sprung up at the North which had produced almost the miraculous results of California gold mines. Who knows but that in the future the South and West shall furnish their rich contributions in this field?

7 and 8. *Harper's Monthly Magazine* and *Harper's Weekly*. These works have been regularly issued in



handsome style, as the public are well aware, for a number of years, and the distinctive features of each have been preserved. They require no comment, but speak for themselves.

We shall not do injustice to the labors of Horace Greeley as the historian of the late war, by the expression of an opinion on the merits of the volume he was polite enough to send us, until time has been allowed for its careful examination. The work will be in two volumes, and is issued in superb style, with innumerable maps of battles and steel engravings of public men and generals in the Federal and Confederate ranks. It is entitled the *American Conflict*.

Our thanks are due to Dr. J. H. Van Errie, of the *New York Day Book*, for his little volume upon the physical characteristics of the negro race, in which he shows with much learning and ingenuity the great errors which have been committed by our politicians and philanthropists. He discusses the subject under the heads of Popular Delusions, Laws of Organization, Historical Outline, Hybridism, Normal Condition of the Negro, the Future of the Negro, etc.

To the publishers, John W. Orr and Co., New York, we are also indebted for Vol. III. of the *American Odd-fellow*. This is a serial work, published monthly and is so interesting that we imagine it will find a place in the family of every member of the fraternity.

Mr. Alex. Delmar, who edits the *Social Science Review*, which has now reached its third quarterly number, favors us with a copy of each No. The work is handsomely issued and is devoted to political economy, statistics, etc., examining very critically theories of finance and taxation, and exhibiting great research on all the subjects

treated. The editors are uncompromising free-trade men. Terms, \$4 per annum.

*Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* and the *Bankers' Magazine* also grace our table. They are works of interest and value, and each pursues its specialty with enterprise and energy. We enjoyed the acquaintance of the founders of these national works, Freeman Hunt, Esq., and J. Smith Homans, Esq., and are glad to perceive that their labors are still appreciated by the public. They were our contemporaries in stern times.

*The Rebellion Record*, a record of American events, is the title of a work which is being published in serial numbers by D. Van Nostrand, 192 Broadway, New York, under the editorial charge of Frank Moore, Esq. Eight large octavo volumes have appeared, which contain much of the documentary history of the war, and other volumes will follow. Price 60 cents per single No., 112 pages. The eight volumes contain:

- I. A full and concise Diary of Events, from the Meeting of the South Carolina Convention in December, 1860, to the present time.
- II. Over three thousand Official Reports and Narratives of all the Battles and Skirmishes that have occurred during the war.
- III. Over twelve hundred Songs and Ballads, both Loyal and Rebel.
- IV. One hundred and twenty-two Portraits, engraved on steel, of the most celebrated men of the time, and numerous Maps and Plans of Battles.
- V. Over eight thousand Incidents and Anecdotes of Personal Daring and Bravery.

A monthly periodical in the German language, published by John Williams, 80 Beekman-street, New York, and edited by Prof. A. J. Schem, furnishes a medium for the Southern people to

communicate with the German population of the North and of Europe, where large editions are circulated. We find the editor to be a man of rare learning and thoroughly acquainted with the subject.

Agreeing heartily with some of the leaders of the South, such as Lee, Johnston, Hampton, and others, that it is the duty of her sons to *remain in the country*, and abide by its fortunes for weal or for woe, we have discouraged all schemes of emigration to Brazil or to Mexico, especially since the promulgation of the liberal policy of President Johnson. Though the necessities of our own position will require us to be absent a good deal, we expect to spend most of our time upon the soil of the South, and keep up our association and connection with her people.

Dr. John H. Blue, writing from Brazil, thus speaks of the colony located there:

"Judge John Guillet, an old and highly-esteemed citizen of Carroll county, with several families, and a Mr. Reavia, of Cooper county, Missouri, with his interesting family, are now here (August), making about forty North Americans in all, the nucleus of a good settlement around Colonel M. L. Swain, of Louisiana, who has located and paid for a body of land on the Assunguy, a branch of the Serra Negro river, which empties into this bay from the northwest, and which is the only practicable route to the mines, and to the rich open country beyond. We have already houses and a little store, and will soon have a blacksmith shop and a school house, the Government giving us five hundred milreis a year to support a school. We have small crops of corn, beans, and potatoes, growing finely, and expect to keep ahead of the wants of new-comers, in the way of food. All of this dates from about the time I came into the bay, a period of less than three months."

What the South now needs is capital, and if the immense accumulations of the North could be only diverted in

that channel, something like the old days of prosperity would be revived, and the difficulty of grappling with the great question of the national debt would be materially lessened. Will not these rich capitalists pause and consider? Never before was so inviting a field opened. Untold wealth lies sleeping, and needs but the appliances which they can offer. Well says the Hon. Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina, a man known to the entire country:

"Capital is what the South now needs—capital to develop its manufacturing, mining, and agricultural resources; to give employment to labor; to set everybody to work. The difficulty is, that there is no demand for labor. Our young men are ready to go to work, anxious to get employment; but really there is nothing for them to do. It is all owing to the fact that there is no money here, and very little prospect of its coming hereafter. There may be some six or eight hundred thousand bales of cotton scattered throughout the South. This is the remnant of the crop of 1860, not disposed of when the war broke out, and the small amounts raised in the last four years. Just at this time there is a little activity discoverable in getting this cotton to the sea-coast. Speculators and agents are tramping the South in every direction, gleaning the last bale. So with tobacco. There are a few thousand hogsheads scattered over the Southern States, but it is fast leaving the barns and shelters where it has been stored for years. Almost every family that has anything, is selling the last remnant of cotton, tobacco, &c., in order to obtain their domestic supplies, of which they had become very bare during the four years of war. This is throwing a little money into circulation, but this money is going directly into the hands of the sutlers in the towns, who will soon take it all out of the country."

Attention is called to the advertisements of several *Land and Immigration Companies*, in our pages, and we are happy to say that efforts are being made

which are likely to be successful to introduce immense amounts of capital for the restoration of the South. To all of these movements we give hearty support, but there is one thing the people of the North must understand, and that is that the questions of labor, of wages, of employment, &c., can no more be regulated by law in Louisiana than in Massachusetts, and that if productive industry is again to be conducted, there must be non-interference in all these matters. There is no greater propriety for a FREEDMEN'S BUREAU, now that the war is over, than there should be for a poor man's bureau or a rich man's bureau, or any other such institution. Private enterprises must be left to regulate these things, and the competition of labor and capital, unless we intend to turn Fourierists. Now that the negro is free, he has received enough at the hands of the nation without expense to himself. No one disputes his freedom. He has no more right to a support than has the free laborer of Maine or Iowa, nor the right to dictate the terms of his employment. Therefore let the Freedman's Bureau be abolished as soon as the State Governments are formed, and industry will become as it ought to be—free.

What Major Macbeth of Charleston said to General Saxton will be the voice of every man acquainted with the subject. The status of a freeman gives the negro all the necessary protection of law. Mr. Macbeth says:

"He considered it utterly impracticable for the Freedmen's Bureau at Washington to manage the whole social relations of the people from the Potomac to the Rio Grande with any satisfaction or success whatever. In some instances officers of one set of political views were very severe on the negroes, tying them up by the thumbs, and practising other cruelties upon them; while in other cases, with

officers of different political opinions, the negroes were demoralized, particularly on the plantations, by being told they were quite equal to their white employers, and should not obey their orders. The major thought if officers were appointed who came to fight for the Union alone, affairs would be much more satisfactory than at present, when one-half of the officers sent here were those who entered the war for emancipation purposes only, and inflamed the negroes with their violent harangues and denunciation of the whites for having kept them in slavery."

The enormous expenses of this machinery should also be considered.

Mr. John Rhum, of Nashville, Tenn., has prepared an address to the Legislature of that State upon the subject of promoting *Immigration* within its limits, and sends us a copy. He argues the subject comprehensively and ably, and we will endeavor to find room for his views hereafter.

Another party addresses the members of the same legislature (Rev. Herman Bokum), a number of inquiries in regard to the characteristics of the different sections of the State, and as the questions will be suggestive for other States, we incorporate them:

1. What are general features of the county of .....; level, undulating or hilly?
2. What rivers or streams run through the county; and are there many good sites for water power?

#### THE PRODUCTIONS.

3. What grasses flourish well or best, and state their market value in the county?
4. What description of corn or grain is produced? Name the kinds, and their market value in the county.
5. What plants flourish best, and what roots are grown, and their market value?
6. Can you give the average produce per acre of each of the above, in different parts of the county?
7. What description of fruit is produced?

8. Is it well adapted for raising stock—as cattle, horses, mules, or sheep? Can you state with what success this is attended, and the market value of such stock in the county?

9. Are any minerals known to exist in the county? If so, name them.

10. Are these minerals worked to any extent, and by whom?

11. Are any salt springs or sulphur found in the county?

## SPECIAL.

12. Who is able to give information respecting the extent of minerals, and what is being done with them?

13. Is there much wood in the county? If so, in what quarter—North, East, South, or central?

14. What description of timber is found in the county? Name the kinds.

15. What is about the extent of land in the county—

1. Under cultivation;

2. Covered with timber;

3. Adapted for pastures and feeding stock;

4. Unoccupied or waste;

16. At what prices can land be obtained by immigrants in the county?

17. Is there much land for sale in the county?

18. What wages are being paid, or offered, for agricultural or other laborers?

19. What number of laborers could find employment in the county?

20. What schools are established in the county?

21. How many places of public worship are there, and what denominations are represented?

22. What papers are published, and their average circulation?

23. What is about the population of the county?

23. What inducements would the property-holders give to immigrants or settlers?

Major E. Tochman, a native of Poland, now resident at Richmond, Va., is also actively employed in promoting this *immigration scheme*, and from his antecedents we believe that he must exercise an efficient influence. Mr. Tochman is well known in our country, and in England, and we regret our in-

ability at present to do more than make a brief quotation from the letter with which we have been favored by him:

"Another benefit, not less important, which a speedy increase of white population, by encouraging the European emigrants to settle among us, would produce, seems to me to be this: that the competition of white labor would drive the lazy negroes to the coasts, extending from Virginia through all the Southern States to the Gulf. Their labor on these coasts, where white people cannot live, but they grow strong and robust, would be the most remunerative and profitable to them, and it would benefit the United States at large, by reclaiming the most productive millions of acres of land, which the white labor will never achieve. But to attain all these advantages in the full extent, measures ought to be adopted that would identify the coming emigrants with our Southern people, and make them inaccessible to the Northern fanatics, wire-pullers, and politicians. This can only be achieved by establishing in Europe our own emigrant agencies, with branches of agencies in our own ports to receive the emigrants here, and direct them to their new homes."

The progress of *Reconstruction* is advancing favorably with the Churches. The Episcopalians, at Philadelphia, acted in a spirit of fraternity on the reception given to their Southern brethren; and the Methodist Bishops have issued a very comprehensive address. Speaking of the changed condition of the negroes the bishops express, we believe, the voice of the South:

"In the change from slaves to freedmen, which has providentially befallen the negroes of the Southern States, our obligations to promote their spiritual welfare have not ceased. We are still debtor to them free, as before to them bond. Under the Divine blessing our church has done a great work for this people. Their moral training, and generally diffused knowledge of the cardinal truths of Christianity, and their ecclesiastical discipline, has justly



won the admiration of many who have lately come in contact and acquaintance with them. *It has accomplished more, it has materially contributed to their subordination and inoffensive behaviour through the late defenceless and excited times, when prophecies were confident and opportunities frequent for domestic insurrection.* And their safe though sudden passage from a state of bondage to liberty, a transition accompanied by no violence or tumult on their part, is largely due to the cause. Though often reviled while prosecuting the evangelization of the colored people by those who claimed to be their better friends, Southern Methodists have persevered in it, not without blessed results. We might have done more; but we should be thankful to the grace of God that we have not done less. Our labor has not been in vain in the Lord. Multitudes have been saved, who will be our crown of glory in "that day." And that the good effects of our religious teachings bestowed upon them in bondage will follow the race into their new condition, and help to prepare them for it, is matter of pleasing reflection to us. Our numerous membership among them, of over two hundred and forty thousand, exclusive of the congregations and catechumens who received instructions from our pastors and missionaries, has been much reduced by recent changes and casualties. If it should be still further reduced we need not be surprised. Defections, doubtless, will take place from their ranks to churches offering greater social inducements for their adhesion. If they elect to leave us, let them go with the assurance that, as heretofore, we have been, so we will continue to be their friends, and in every suitable way aid their moral development and religious welfare. We must still keep a place and a service for those who remain with us, and for others who, after a brief experiment elsewhere, may wish to return. While no factious opposition, on the one hand, should be offered to the exercise of their fullest liberty in choosing their ecclesiastical associations; on the other hand, no desire of being rid of a responsibility should incline you to treat their action, in so grave a matter, with indifference, or let them take their way in ignorance of all the issues involved. Give them

exact information and patient explanation; Act faithfully and kindly in all things towards them, and as becomes those who truly care for their souls."

In reference to the matters referred to in the above extract, we have the utterances of another Southerner, who has acquired high reputation in his native State—the Hon. Thos. S. Gholson of Va.:

"These people are now free, and among us. In many localities they greatly preponderate in numbers. It is useless to inquire whether it was wise to turn them loose without preparation; without any adequate provision for their mental or physical comfort or improvement. It is done, and we must meet the obligations which now rest upon us. We cannot get rid of them. Where will you take them? Where are the means with which you could do so? They are among us, and must so remain for long years, at least. The question arises, how are they to be managed and treated? Will they labor and make a useful population? We should treat them with kindness, and encourage them to acquire habits of industry and economy. We should recollect that they are not to blame that we lose the value of their labor—that has resulted from war. They have (in the main) conducted themselves since their freedom, in a docile, kind, and respectful manner. If many of them left kind owners, it was because of evil influences; hundreds have returned of their own accord, and asked to remain at their old homes. They are now thrown upon the world, without resources, and without friends—unless we remain their friends. Let us, therefore, counsel and advise them; give them employment, and at fair wages. Let every good man visit with indignation those who would oppress or defraud them. There will be selfish, unprincipled men in all communities. We must protect these people against such men. They have the right to make contracts; but what chance do they stand with the sharper? No more than your infant children would. We must, by public sentiment, and by law, protect them against improvident and unconscionable contracts.

"It is not only right that we should pursue this course towards these freedmen, but it is our interest. For, just so far as we can make them intelligent, industrious, and self-supporting, will we lift from the community the burden of supplying the means necessary to support them. They must be fed and clothed, and our duty and our interest combine to dictate a kind and humane policy towards them. And such, I am happy to believe, is the general disposition of our people."

As an evidence of the return of peace and of the machinery of peace among us, we notice the circular issued by the New Orleans School of Medicine. This Institution is again opened, and a course of lectures began on the 13th of November.

The Faculty is an able one, and comprises such names as Fenner, Brickell, Choppin, Beard, Cracow, Smith, etc. all well known to the country.

The following property is offered for Sale on favorable terms, and application may be made to the Office of the REVIEW, where other data will be furnished.

**ST. PAUL, Minnesota**—60 lots in De Bow, Blaque, and Williams addition. These lots are in the suburbs, and are convenient to city and other railroads; were valued in 1948 at from \$100 to \$500 each; situated in Blocks 1 to 10.

**LEAVENWORTH CITY, Kansas**—Lot 5, Block D. Lot 6, Block 57. One of these lots is on the public square.

**CHICAGO**—20 lots advantageously located. Nos. 2, 9, 10, 13, 19, 32, 33, 41, 42, 49, 59, 60, 65, 69, 73, 74, 82, 83, 91, 92. Canal Trustees subdivision, Cochran subdivision, Block 20.

**IOWA, Mills Co.**—480 acres in Sections 2 and 11, in Town 71, Range 42 west 5 meridian. **Monona Co.**—480 acres in Secs. 11 and 14, Town 84, R. 45 West. **Black Hawk Co.**—120 acres in Sec. 32, Town 57, R. 14 West. The land in Mills Co. is rolling prairie, good for stock, near the road from Sidney to Council Bluff; 6 miles S. E. of the county seat, and 2 miles West of Silver Creek. The Monona land is alluvial 2½ miles from Ashton, the county seat.

**MINNESOTA, Washington Co.**—600 acres in Secs. 3, 8, and 25, Town 23, R. 20 and 21; located 12 miles above Stillwater, and 2½ miles from St. Croix River.

**MISSOURI, Atchison Co.**—240 acres in Sec. 24, Town 63, R. 40.

**KANSAS, Franklin Co.**—160 acres in Sec. 22, Town 17, R. 21, at Kaskaskia, Brown Co.—

160 acres in Sec. 6, Town 2, R. 13, Iowa Town, **Douglas Co.**—160 acres in Sec. 18, Town 2, R. 20, Iowa Town. The Franklin Co. lands have good timber, and lie near Stanton, Lykins Co., and near the county line; 10 acres cultivated. The tract in Brown is distant 2½ miles from Iowa point, on the Missouri River.

**MISSISSIPPI, Wilkinson Co.**—Plantation in good order and improvements, 700 acres, 14 miles from Woodville. Farm 1½ miles from Columbus, 104 acres. House and Lot in Columbus.

**LOUISIANA, Carroll, Paris**—640 acres in Sec. 31, Town 22, N. of R., 10 East, near Delhi; uncultivated, but woods deadened several years ago. Land represented to be good, and capable of producing bale cotton to the acre; unimproved.

**TEXAS**—About 1,500 acres in the Bexar District, Surveys 371 and 377, Sec. 7; South Fork, South Bank of Llano, 55 miles N. West of Fredericksburg.

Notices similar to the above will be inserted of lands and plantations offered for sale at the South on the receipt of \$5 for every six lines, which will be inserted at the close of the editorial columns.

As the REVIEW will have a large Northern and Western circulation, this method of advertising will present great advantages.

Attention is called to the advertisement of B. De Bow, who, in addition to his duties of publisher of the REVIEW, will act as Agent for the Sale of Southern estates on reasonable terms, or for the purchase of any article which may be required by the Southern people, including such as are advertised in the pages of the REVIEW. He will also execute contracts for printing on reasonable terms, and in every variety of style.

The subject of fertilizers is one of much interest to Southern planters at the present juncture, and we would therefore call attention to the card of J. S. Reese & Co., of Baltimore, on the first page of our cover.

The Editor of the REVIEW, on the appearance of this Number, expects to be absent on a Southern tour, in which he will visit Louisville, Nashville, parts of Mississippi and Alabama, and New Orleans. He expects to spend the greater part of January and February in Washington City. Letters addressed to him will, however, be immediately forwarded from the Office, 42 Broadway, New York, to which point all communications will be addressed.